Korea in the U. N.—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

October 4, 1952

JOHN STRACHEY

The Absolutists

The Communist and Counter-Communist Unity-in-Opposition

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Five Pivotal States: Election Round-up

OCT 6 4 1952
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AROUND THE U. S. A.

That MacArthur Draft

Los Angeles

EXCEPT for a bowl of flowers and a tinted picture of General Douglas MacArthur on the speakers' table, there was nothing to distinguish the first Presidential convention of the Christian Nationalist Party from any other Gerald L. K. Smith meeting.

The convention gimmick drew a total of 3,500 persons to the two meetings, held September 8 and 9 in a downtown auditorium, but there was no attempt to simulate a convention atmosphere. Since General MacArthur and State Senator Jack B. Tenney had been chosen earlier as the party's nominees for President and Vice-President, Smith skipped such troublesome features as parliamentary procedure and roll-call votes.

If spectators were disappointed by the absence of banners, reporters, and martial music, they were offered frequent opportunities to contribute money to the collection boxes and to purchase the complete works of Smith—from "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" to "Ike Eisenhower (Swedish Jew)."

The chairman and executive secretary of the party were allowed to speak briefly, but Smith ran the show. He laughed, cried, screamed, and whispered. All his harangues were cheered with equal fervor, whether the target was Colonel Robert McCormick, *Time*, Rita Hayworth, or the Anti-Defamation League.

The Christian Nationalist crusade, Smith explained, led the campaign to draft MacArthur at the Republican convention in Chicago. "We published more literature, sent out more letters, and spent more money than all the other MacArthur activities combined." Having failed in that endeavor, Smith now intends to put the MacArthur-Tenney ticket on the ballot in at least twenty states and capture enough electoral votes to throw the election into Congress. Then "it would be very possible to elect a Northern Republican for President and a Southern conservative Democrat for Vice-President. This would give us another chance to draft MacArthur and save America."

Smith characterized Governor Stevenson and General Eisenhower as Charlie McCarthy and Mortimer Snerd sitting on the knees of Bernard Baruch, but he saved his most vicious jibes for Eisenhower. In case anyone had forgotten "just how dangerous Eisenhower could be as President," Smith reminded his followers that the Republican candidate is an internationalist, "supported by the world-government crowd"; that his chief advisers are Baruch, Thomas E. Dewey, and Felix Frankfurter; that he "gave Berlin to the Russians and lied about it"; that his brother Milton "has always been a New Dealer"; that he urged the confirmation of Anna Rosenberg as Assistant Secretary of Defense, supported the Administration's Korean policy "against the judgment of MacArthur," and "allied himself with the enemies of MacArthur"; that "all the important Jews in America want Ike."

Conversely, MacArthur, he asserted, "symbolizes and personifies true Americanism." The Christian Nationalist Party realizes that the General is not really a candidate for President, because "technically the only candidates involved are the electors who are committed to General Douglas MacArthur for President." However, by placing his name on the ballot "right-wing traditional patriots" in both major parties will have an opportunity to protect their "racial self-respect" and "cast a vote for someone in whom they truly believe."

In accepting the Vice-Presidential nomination Tenney said, "Those honoring the General and myself subscribe to the principles we both have advocated and expounded over a long period of time." Tenney's "principles" are the witch-hunting devices he tested during his ten years as chairman of the California Un-American Activities Committee.

When he was dumped from the committee in 1949 his political power faded fast. He disenchanted the state Republican Party by supporting an apostate delegation opposed to Governor Earl Warren; his bid for a Congressional nomination was defeated in the June primary; and the "freedom of choice" proposal, designed to encourage racial and religious discrimination, which he wanted to get before the people as an initiative, failed to qualify for the ballot. His hook-up with the Smith crusade for white Protestant supremacy is an appropriate ending to his political career.

At this writing, the major attraction in the Christian Nationalist campaign has neither accepted nor rejected the nomination. Republican leaders say hopefully that MacArthur does not wish to "dignify" the movement by recognizing it. Meanwhile its directors are drafting a platform culled from the General's writings and speeches. Smith told the convention he would be willing to "bet a package of chewing gum" that the party would not reject such a platform. However, a week later the platform was still "being printed" and is not yet available.

MacArthur would serve the interests of the Republican Party by repudiating Smith's campaign and program. Smith is eager to cash in on the Old Guard's bitter dislike of the "internationalist" wing of the G. O. P. and is hoping to split the Republican vote. If the Republicans lose in November, Smith is ready to lead a new party of reaction. All he needs is a figurehead, and so far General MacArthur fills the bill.

The possibility of such a development is suggested by a statement issued by the California chapter of Pro America, an ultra-conservative organization of Republican women. Declaring that "any division of concentrated effort" for the election of Eisenhower, Nixon, and a Republican Congress would dissipate the strength needed for victory, the lady Republicans "deplored any movement toward the formation of a third party *until the results of the November 4 election have been determined*" (italics mine).

Meanwhile Gerald Smith attracts new friends and finances with the MacArthur bait and gathers strength from his hero's silence.

HANNAH BLOOM

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

Tariffs, Rearmament, and Solvency

The Economic Commission for Europe and its able secretary, Gunnar Myrdal, are to be praised for the excellent "Economic Bulletin" just distributed by the United Nations. Its report on the first quarter of 1952 should be studied by all those prone to blame the indiscipline of the French, the laziness of the Italians, or the antiquated methods of the British for Europe's failure to fulfil the NATO quotas set by the Lisbon conference. What it shows, particularly, is the disbalance in the whole Continental economy brought about by the demands of rearmament: a slight but steady increase in unemployment, a decrease in the volume of consumption in spite of a generally high level of imports, no progress at all toward overcoming the dollar gap. Only two improvements are noted—a greater coal output and a considerable reduction in the shortage of steel.

Though the language of the report is diplomatic, it reveals plainly the absurdity of expecting Europe, on the one hand, to increase production and stop begging for dollars while, on the other, closing the American market to important European products. "Europe's prospects of keeping up the present level of its dollar exports," says the bulletin, "clearly depend in part on the degree of firmness with which the United States administration resists the increasing number of pressure groups pleading for higher tariffs."

But in the opinion of those experts who share Mr. Myrdal's concern over the course of events in Europe, the problem will not be solved even by a more liberal tariff policy or by more generous loans from Washington. Only through a resumption of trade between East and West and a return to a normal economy can Europe be rescued from the increasing hardships imposed by rearmament.

Jenner's Disability

A dual standard of political morality doubtless accounts for the strange behavior of Senator William Jenner of Indiana—a crusader against Democratic "corruption" and misconduct in office. In 1942 Jenner received a commission, entered the air force, and served two years in a non-combat zone in England. He was retired for disability on October 8, 1944, and awarded a disability compensation of $172.60 a month, the amount being increased to $179 in May, 1950. Jenner has served in the Senate since he was appointed to fill out an unexpired term in October, 1944. A federal statute enacted in 1932 forbids any person receiving more than $3,000 a year in a federal post to accept officer's retirement compensation unless it is for a disability incurred in actual combat. Jenner receives a salary of $15,000 a year as a Senator, and, so far as the records indicate, he was never in actual combat.

When questioned, he first denied that he was still receiving disability compensation and then brought pressure on Walter Leckrone, editor of the Indianapolis *Times,* to kill the story. (The Indianapolis *Star and News,* owned by Eugene Pulliam, an Eisenhower supporter, had known the facts for several weeks but said nothing.) Senator Jenner now justifies acceptance of the disability payments on the ground that his vision was impaired as a result of an infection and that he may "become totally blind at any time." But the Senator does not wear glasses, and his vision, apart from political matters, seems to be adequate. Our interest in the matter arises from the fact that Senator Jenner has been a violent partisan of the view that government welfare rolls should be open to the public. We hope the Senator retains his eyesight, but we must say that he seems to have been blind to principle for the last eight years.

"Little" Europe's First Month

Despite the two currents of opinion that divide the creators of Europe United, its representatives, now meeting in Strasbourg, seem determined to take good care of the month-old baby, still as frail as it is beautiful. The Consultative Assembly is made up of two factions; those who favor immediate unification and those who believe union can be achieved only by slow and careful stages. To the more enthusiastic federalists, the Eden plan, setting up a joint assembly to oversee the operations of the various European communities—the coal-and-steel and the defense community—and to function within a limited framework, seems almost sabotage.

Mr. Eden went to Strasbourg to explain his position

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and a compromise was the result. Collaboration between "little" Europe—France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—and its older sister, "big" Europe, has been established. Britain remains a part of "big" Europe without assuming too much responsibility in the immediate future; while giving "little" Europe its blessing, it leaves the infant to the tender care of President Spaak of Belgium.

It is to be hoped that gradually the nations which are now merely taking part in the discussions of the Consultative Assembly will join in a real effort to bring about unification—or withdraw entirely. For the moment a clash between 100-per-cent Europeans and Europeans, British style, has been avoided. Mr. Eden's timely warning should be heeded: a federated "little" Europe, behaving as if all the old national, political, and economic barriers of the Continent were about to disappear, will endanger the larger unity of Western Europe which can only be the result of an organic and gradual growth.

News from the Islands

From Hawaii comes the interesting report that Judge Delbert E. Metzger has been entered as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congressional Delegate from the Islands. It will be recalled (see editorial comment *The Nation*, September 15, 1951, July 5, 1952) that President Truman failed to reappoint Judge Metzger to the federal bench in Hawaii after the Judge had incurred the enmity of Senator O'Mahoney, former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, and Senator Pat McCarran for his courageous refusal to accept the dictation of the Department of Justice on the handling of the Smith act cases in Hawaii. Judge Metzger has been a member of the Statehood Commission since it was created some six years ago and is confident that Hawaii will be given statehood within a year. To speed the day, however, the islands should send this distinguished American liberal to Washington as their delegate. From a mainland point of view, one of the strongest arguments for admitting Hawaii to the Union is the likelihood that Judge Metzger might one day represent it in the United States Senate.

Passport Delirium

The farcical character of the new State Department rules on passport procedure has been vividly demonstrated in the recent denial of a passport to the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles. Dr. Fritchman applied for a passport on July 14, stating that he had been invited to speak in November before a Melbourne audience celebrating the 100th anniversary of Unitarianism in Australia. After several inquiries he was promised a decision on the application by August 24. But he received no word until

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September 16, when without giving any reason the State Department advised him that his application had been denied but that he might avail himself of the new appeal-board procedure. "This seems a calculated evasion of reality," Fritchman comments, "since any such relief would come too late and the State Department shows by its long delay that it knows it. The church centenary in Australia will have passed long before such an appeal could be completed."

In Australia the news will be taken as further evidence that Uncle Sam is acting more and more like Uncle Joe. Ironically, the Australian Unitarians had in part been moved to invite Dr. Fritchman to deliver the centennial address by the desire to honor him for his spirited protest against the methods of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Australians will also note the refusal of immigration authorities to admit seven Canadian trade-union delegates bound for the Portland Convention of the International Woodworkers of America. John P. Boyd, director of the Immigration Service in Seattle, contends that the refusal was justified under a law authorizing the service to turn away persons "whose presence in the United States is inimical to the best interests of the United States."

Charlie Chaplin

But passports and visas are not the only methods of travel-control: there is also the McCarran immigration law. By threatening to bar Charlie Chaplin from coming back to the United States the Department of Justice has gone several leagues out of its way to invite the ridicule and contempt of sensible people. Whatever his political views may be—and he says he has never been a Communist—Charlie Chaplin can hardly be regarded as an overt threat to American institutions. Nor can the fact that in spite of all temptations, financial and otherwise, he has remained an Englishman be held a punishable offense. The important thing would seem to be that Chaplin is an artist whose shining talent has for decades cast its luster upon his adopted country and brought joy to the world.

He has been welcomed in England with an outpouring of enthusiasm to which the announcement of the Justice Department undoubtedly contributed; but Chaplin says he wants to return to the United States when his European visit is over. Before he sets sail, the Administration will have time, we hope, to retreat from its ludicrous and humiliating stand. Charlie Chaplin may be "agin the government" or he may not; but the government cannot afford to be against Charlie Chaplin. If Mr. McGranery has any doubt about this, he'd better recollect what happened in "Shoulder Arms": Charlie made Kaiser Wilhelm and all his generals look like a pack of fools and he'll do the same thing to the Attorney General and his minions if they don't watch out.

An Issue of Principle

MUCH valuable newsprint and radio-television time are being wasted in a futile discussion of peripheral aspects of the Nixon affair such as the high cost of living for Senators and the soaring cost of politics in an era increasingly dominated by public-relations counselors. Important as these matters are, the public should not be expected, in the last weeks of an exciting Presidential campaign, to take time out to debate them. Moreover, emphasis on them diverts attention from the immediate issue: what light does this affair shed on the character of the Republican Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees?

The character of Richard Milhous Nixon—"Nixie" to Whittaker Chambers—has about it something of the preposterous simplicity of a hero in a folk tale. Indeed, one would be forced to conclude that Nixon is depraved were he not so obviously just what he purports to be—a young man on the make. The Pasadena, San Marino, and South Pasadena millionaires who contributed to the $18,000 fund did not "bribe" Nixon; they simply rewarded him for doing what, in cold calculation, he would have done in any case. As the saying goes, "you don't have to offer him a bribe; just see what he'll do without one." Probably Nixon is quite sincere when he says that he sees nothing "morally wrong" about the subsidy. But it would be more comforting to think that he is merely another political cynic than that, as a possible future President of the United States, he is morally blind. Not only does he fail to recognize any impropriety in his use of the fund—which was solicited in his name—but he denounces those who take a different view of the matter as "crooks and Communists"—or as misguided souls who simply "do not understand."

A year ago he demanded the resignation of William Boyle and Guy Gabrielson as chairmen of their parties on the ground that party officials should "set an example of propriety and ethics which goes beyond the strict legal minimum required by law." Apparently he believes that party officers should have a higher ethical standard than nominees for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

The chief significance of the Nixon affair, however, is to be found in what it reveals about the character of Dwight D. Eisenhower. General Eisenhower has now forfeited three excellent opportunities to establish himself in the eyes of American voters, if not as the "crusader" he fancies himself to be, then as a man of principle. He missed the first opportunity when he refused to repudiate Senator Joseph McCarthy. He missed the second when he glibly indorsed, without substantial modification, Senator Taft's policy statement. And now, in the Nixon affair, he has again demonstrated his disastrous flexibility where a matter of principle is at stake. In each

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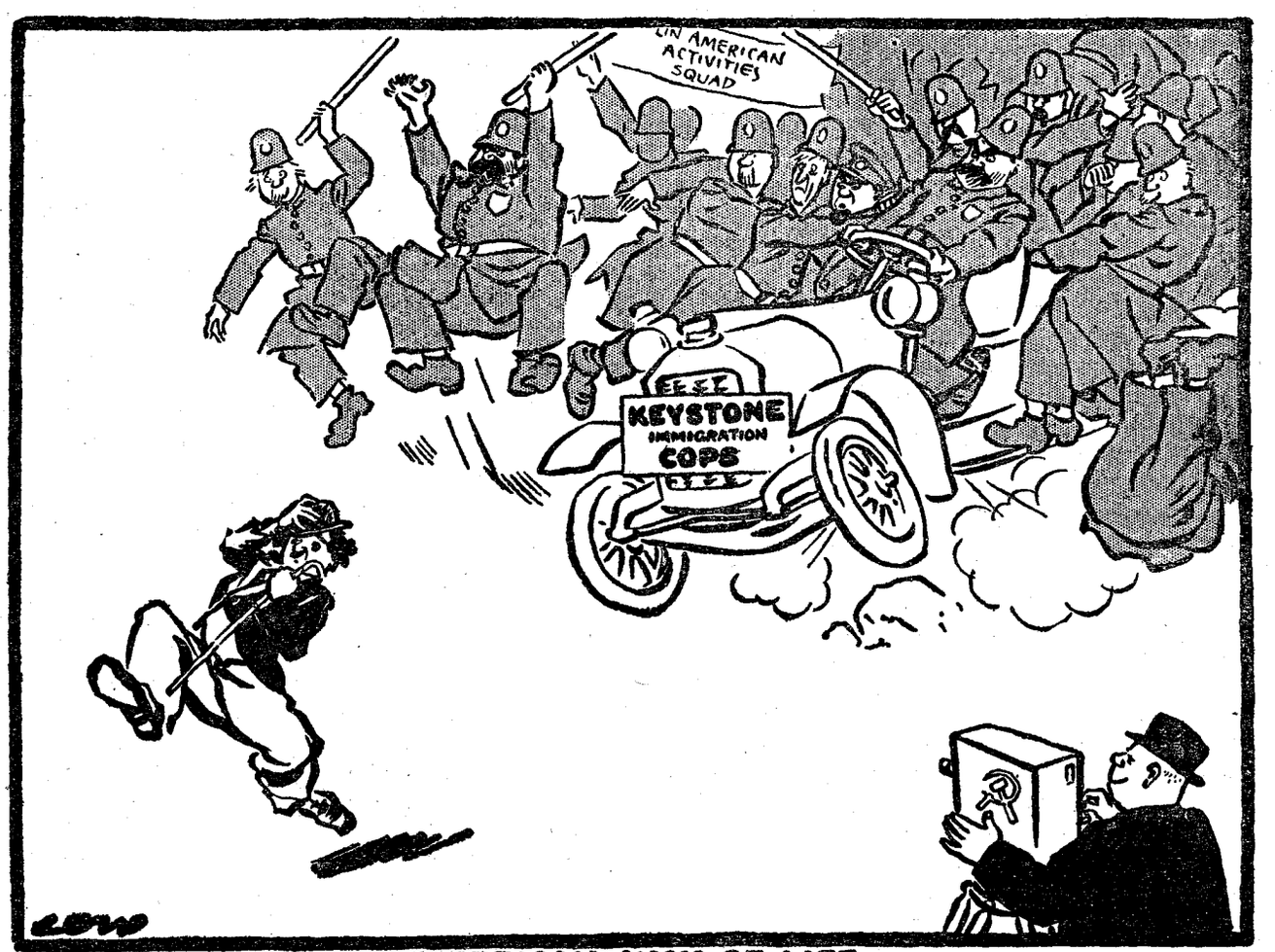
case he hesitated, then retreated, and finally surrendered without a quibble. The General has not merely "compromised" with McCarthy and Taft, Jenner and Nixon; he has brought them to power. He must now negotiate with Nixon, as the *Wall Street Journal* says, "not as a commander deploying a foot soldier but as a general treating with a valuable ally."

EISENHOWER, we are told, has a genius for compromise. But the public has a right to assume he is aware that some issues cannot be compromised without nullifying the principle from which they stem. The truth would seem to be that the General, like Nixon, simply does not recognize an issue of principle when one arises. Walter Lippmann, who has been supporting Eisenhower, now notes with genuine consternation that he has been showing an alarming disposition to improvise his great decisions—to proceed by intuition, without careful exploration "of the facts and the principles, off the cuff and ad lib."

If General Eisenhower understood the responsibilities of leadership in a democracy he would promptly have demanded that Nixon withdraw from the ticket, once the facts about the fund were clearly established, on the ground that his presence confused an issue on which, more than any other, he has based his bid for the Presidency. Eisenhower's fatal hesitation has made it possible for Nixon to turn the incident to his personal advantage; he now has the upper hand. By clear implication the General has sanctioned the notion that it is entirely proper for United States Senators to accept private subsidies. More, as a "warrior" who has seen "brave men in tough situations" he has nothing but praise for Nixon. If this is a fair sample of how the General behaves when confronted with a question of principle, then he is clearly a dangerous man to have in the White House.

It is hard to believe that General Eisenhower can fail to recognize, as Thomas L. Stokes has pointed out in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* that he has now become the champion of the "hate-mongering element" which, after its defeat in Chicago, has regained confidence and is spoiling for a national witch hunt on a scale that would dwarf anything we have so far seen. The General's biographers have led one to expect more courage from the leader of the cross-channel invasion than he has shown in his dealings with McCarthy, Jenner, Taft, and Nixon. As Mr. Stokes says, Eisenhower does not seem to realize the prestige and power that he has, not only because he is who he is, but because he is now the leader of a great political party. "He can recognize that and step



AMERICAN WAY-OF-LIFE

London *Daily Herald*

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into character," writes Mr. Stokes, "or he can toy with something that could be dangerous to our traditions and our liberties." If the General does not recognize the prestige and power of his position as party leader, would he recognize and honor the obligations and responsibilities of the Presidency?

The attempt to divert attention from the Nixon fund by comparing it with the fund on which Governor Stevenson drew to reduce the financial hardships of able men who gave up highly paid jobs to accept appointments in the Illinois state government is thoroughly, and we believe deliberately, misleading. We are sure Governor Stevenson would be the first to concede that the salaries of public officials should not normally be padded out by contributions from private sources. He did what he did because there was no other way of getting first-rate men for key positions. But it is a far cry from an improvised arrangement of this sort to private, personal subsidies of the Nixon variety. Recipients of the Governor's Christmas bonuses did not know the names of contributors to the fund nor did the contributors know to whom payments were being made. The Democrats might have cut short any attempt to link the two operations in the public mind by simply pointing to the lack of any parallel between the interests of the large and widely diverse group of contributors to Stevenson's campaign fund and his performance as Governor and then to the way in which Nixon's voting record reflects the general, and often the special, interests of the millionaires who contributed to his.

AS a postscript in the Nixon affair, we should like to suggest that the "corruption" issue is being weirdly distorted in this campaign. To focus attention on the corruption of American politics without discussing the wider aspects of corruption in our society as a whole is to undermine confidence in representative government. As Stevenson said in his Los Angeles Town Hall speech:

> You are not going to clean up crime and corruption until you clean up civil life. . . . If it is against the law [to play slot machines] in the corner saloons, it is against the law in the country club, too, and how much respect and how much leadership are the citizens going to have who practice a double standard of law observance? They have stopped their own mouths and tied up their own hands, but they still complain about law enforcement. And what would you think about the banker who complains when you clean up gambling in his town because it reduces bank deposits, or the real-estate owner who complains because the tenants don't pay as much rent when the restaurant and tavern on the ground floor have to stop gambling? I have had those experiences and many more besides, including the varieties of business men who will corrupt a state inspector to disregard some law violation. I can fire the inspector if I can catch him. But I can't fire the business man.

Korea in the U. N.

IT IS time to end the Korean fighting. When we look back and count the toll of death, mutilation, material destruction, and international bitterness that has piled up since MacArthur sent the United Nations forces across the Thirty-eighth Parallel in the fall of 1950, we can only marvel that the whole world has not been drawn into the conflict. The war was won then: aggression was thrown back; South Korea saved. Had the State and Defense departments followed the course demanded by common sense and proposed in the United Nations by India and other nations that understood the dynamics of the situation, an armistice could have been arranged with a minimum of difficulty. But the policy of the Asia-firsters prevailed over such counsels; Sir Benegal Rau was rebuffed in the U. N.; the informed warnings of liberal American journals and of most of the press of Western Europe were written off as appeasement; the drive to the Yalu was launched—and soon China was in the war and the hope of a truce out the window.

Now for a year and a quarter the U. N. high command —which is to say a succession of American military men—have been haggling over armistice terms with their Korean-Chinese equivalents. And while this has gone on casualties have increased, steadily if not at a high rate, and Allied bombs have reduced to dust the roads, railways, factories, and power installations in North Korea right up to the Manchurian line. The loss of life among civilians has been terrible, arousing hostility to the United States in "neutralist" Asian countries and bringing strong protests from peace organizations and church groups in the West. Even the charges of germ warfare, unproved by the Communists and flatly denied by the United States, have won a hearing they would never have had if people's minds were not already conditioned to the probability of such horrors. But protests obviously will not prevail against the logic of war, which demands continuous and, if expedient, mounting destruction until the aggressor knuckles under.

The only way to limit the destruction is to end the fighting, and the only hope of an armistice is to bring the negotiations into the U. N. Neither military action nor the stalemate at Panmunjom offers a way out. Up to now the United States has conducted those talks—and the war—as if they were our show. Whenever the situation seemed near a breakdown or new and threatening military measures were undertaken, such as the recent bombing of the great dams and power plants in the north, our U. N. allies have shown clearly their dissatisfaction at being excluded from an effective share in making decisions. There have been signs that they considered our handling of the rebellious prisoners of war less than perfect; that they would like some say on the prisoner-exchange impasse; that they might even

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hope to be consulted on the long-range political factors that may lie behind the deadlock at Panmunjom.

The latest proposal made by the Allied negotiators, offering a choice among three methods of rechecking the preferences of prisoners to determine whether or not they shall be repatriated, is now under consideration by the Communist delegation. That it will be accepted is most improbable, since it retains the principle of "voluntary" repatriation which is the nub of the Chinese-Korean opposition. Although the Communist truce team agreed to a ten-day adjournment, General Nam Il has indicated that the new proposal fails to meet the "reasonable demand" for return of all war prisoners.

NOW that the United States has reversed its stand and agreed to a debate on Korea in the coming session of the General Assembly which begins on October 14, the issue is likely to be laid wide open. And this we consider wholly desirable, not because it can be expected to produce an immediate armistice but because it will restore the Korean struggle to the U. N., where it belongs. It is quite possible that the United States will use the occasion to try to line up support for more drastic military measures—a blockade of the China coast, for example, or the bombing of Manchurian bases—if the enemy refuses to budge on the prisoners-of-war issue. It is equally possible that the Russians, besides demanding representation for the Chinese and North Koreans, will try to submit their germ-warfare charges to the Assembly. But assuming the worst in both cases, an Assembly debate will enable those states whose voices have been silenced for a year and a half to discuss armistice and peace terms. It is known that several delegations are prepared to suggest compromise solutions of the prisoner-exchange problem. Mexico has already submitted a plan which provides for the immediate repatriation of all willing prisoners of war and the temporary distribution among member states of those prisoners who do not wish to go home.

A full debate in the United Nations will not only end the dictatorship of the American command; it will also permit a new effort on the part of the Asian nations to organize a peace bloc. Nehru has several times offered his good offices to help end the conflict and work out a broad settlement. More and more it has become clear that no agreement will have the backing of the peoples of Asia if it originates in Washington and is negotiated by the belligerents alone. The Asian countries regard any major decision in that part of the world as the business of Asia as a whole, acting within the United Nations. This concept will certainly be developed in the General Assembly, and the attitude toward it of the United States and Russia may determine which power in the long run will have the greatest influence over coming Asian developments.

A Handbook for Demagogues

LAST Wednesday the American people were given a remarkable lesson in political demagoguery. Whatever one may think of Senator Nixon's morals or wisdom, one must admit that in thirty minutes he made a historic contribution to the science of rabble-rousing. Lest his technique be obscured by the political controversy surrounding the whole incident, I will indicate its principles:

1. Pretend to be a poor ordinary man fighting the possessors of inherited wealth. Refer to the fact that the standard-bearer of the opposing party inherited money. Mention your own humble origin and your wife's "cloth coat." Tell the people that poor men like yourself should represent them in Congress.

2. Appeal to people's national origins regardless of how irrelevant it may be. Disclose that your wife's maiden name was Ryan and that the Irish never quit.

3. Attack your opponents as Pro-Communist but don't make the mistake that Joe McCarthy made—be subtle about it. Remind your audience that the same people who opposed you in the Hiss case are against you now.

4. If you are a veteran, mention it but try to be casual. Discuss the battle stars in an offhand way but make it clear that you were under enemy fire.

5. Cast doubt on the honesty of the opposing candidates; mention that your opponent's wife is on the federal pay roll. There is nothing dishonest about that, but it sounds bad, especially if the man isn't there to answer it. Keep harping on the fund controlled by the other party's chief candidate, even though it is completely different from your own fund. Twist the facts just enough to arouse suspicion.

6. Appeal to people's sympathy. Pretend to be the honest man who is viciously persecuted by smear artists. Plead with the people not to let your enemies take your pet dog away. Tell them that it hurts to bare your soul and your finances in public. Repeat this over and over again so they won't notice the important things you have left unsaid. End by promising you will never stop fighting the crooks and Communists attacking you.

7. Above all, never, never discuss the actual thing for which you were called to task by the American people. Never compare your voting record with the economic interests of those who contributed to your fund. Never raise the question whether it was right to take money from people who have a stake in the way you vote. Create your own ethical standards and then point out how rigidly you adhere to them.

If you do all these things, a great general will laud your courage and you will be flooded with telegrams of sympathy and support. And if the people are really as dumb as you think they are, you may some day be President of the United States. NORMAN REDLICH

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The Absolutists

BY JOHN STRACHEY

London

THE publication ten years ago of Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" marked the beginning of what may be called "the literature of counter-communism." For the most part written by ex-Communists, this literature is of a special kind. It has been contributed to, for example, by Ignazio Silone, by the essayists of R. H. S. Crossman's volume "The God That Failed," by Alexander Weissberg in his recent book "The Conspiracy of Silence," by André Malraux, by James Burnham, and by many others. The latest addition to it is "Witness," by Whittaker Chambers.

This literature has many common characteristics. It is not pleasant or easy reading. Large parts of it are written on a note of sustained hysteria. Its tone is painful and piercing, and is meant to be so. For these authors are convinced that the Western world is marching, dully and complacently, upon its destruction.

They are the absolutists. They see the world in terms of one all-embracing antithesis: communism and the West; the Devil and God. They do not, to be sure, suppose that the West is perfect. On the contrary, they gird at our existing society, but only because they believe it to be lapsing, to its mortal peril, from its ideals.

In the same way they are at pains to emphasize the strength, resources, and, for that matter, heroic character of communism, but only because they are agonized lest we should underestimate our enemy. The words "absolute," "desperate," "inevitable," "catastrophic" appear constantly in their texts.

Mr. Chambers is by no means the least considerable of these writers. His voice sometimes rises so high that the printed page itself seems to scream. But it would be a mistake, for all that, to fail to take in what he is saying. He hammers out the absolutist view of the world more insistently, perhaps, than any other of its spokesmen. For example, he does not hesitate to write that, from a Communist point of view, both the Great Purge and the Nazi-Soviet pact were justified:

> . . . as Communists, Stalin and the Stalinists were absolutely justified in making the Purge. From the Communist viewpoint Stalin could have taken no other course so long as he believed he was right. The Purge, like the Communist-Nazi pact later on, was the true measure of Stalin as a revolutionary statesman. That was the horror of the Purge—that acting as a Communist, Stalin had acted rightly. In that fact lay the evidence that communism is *absolutely* evil. The human horror was not evil, it was the sad consequence of evil. It was communism that was evil, and the more truly a man acted in its spirit and interest, the more certainly he perpetuated evil.

Upon this basic thesis—that "communism is absolutely evil"—nearly all the contributors to this literature build up their world outlook. Everything is seen in the starkest black and white. Every catastrophic conclusion follows with remorseless inevitability. In particular, a Third World War, which, as they are the first to agree, will probably wreck human civilization, is taken for granted. Any hope that it may be avoided and therefore any effort to avoid it are derided as pathetic examples of wishful thinking. This outlook, rather than its specific content, is the main interest of Whittaker Chambers's book.

Much of that book is taken up with the narration of Mr. Chambers's side of the Hiss case. No one who does not possess an exhaustive knowledge of those horrible and tragic proceedings should comment upon them. Nor is there any need to do so. For, curiously enough, if Mr. Hiss were to be found completely innocent of the charges made against him, the general thesis of this literature, of which Mr. Chambers's book is merely the latest example, would be almost unaffected. It might, at most, be said that these "absolutist" writers were exaggerating the conspiratorial side of contemporary communism—which, incidentally, is not a very easy thing to do. But that is all. If we believe, as in my opinion we must, that Mr. Chambers and the other absolutists are telling the truth as they see it, that is sufficient to make it indispensable to examine their outlook. Whether *their* truth, and in particular whether Mr. Chambers's view of the Hiss case, is *the* truth is another question. In fact, it is that basic other question which once engaged the fleeting attention of the Procurator of Judea. But for our present purpose it is sufficient that the absolutists all see the contemporary predicament of the world in this light.

For *all* the absolutists do see it thus. That is to say, not merely do the small number of brilliant and tortured men who are building up the literature of counter-communism see it thus, but so also do the Communists. The fact is that the world outlook of the counter-

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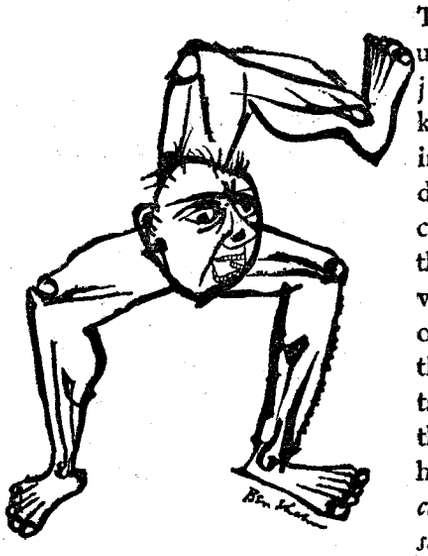
Communists has a close similarity, in reverse, to the Communist world outlook. It is not only, or principally, that both treat any denial of the inevitability of a Third World War with impatience or at best with pity. Both see the crisis of the contemporary world as "total" —another key word. The ex-Communists—certainly Chambers and in many passages Koestler—agree that the non-Communist world is doomed except by a miracle.



They have, they tell us, deliberately joined what they know to be the losing side; they have done so because they can no longer bear the character of those who will be victorious. They bring us their despair. They take to themselves that insanely proud hexameter *"Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni,"* which might perhaps be rendered thus, in modern times—"The winning side is good enough for the gods, but for the old guard only defeat will do."

However, to establish that the absolutist world outlook is shared by Communists and counter-Communists is not to disprove it. These absolutists of what one may call "the post-Marxist right" might reply: "Yes, of course, we share this world outlook with the Communists; for undeniably this is what the contemporary world of total crisis is like. It is just because we alone in the West see all this as clearly as the Communists themselves that we alone are capable of standing up to them. This is, no doubt, what Silone meant when he told Togliatti that "the final conflict will be between the Communists and the ex-Communists."

But will it? As one who was deeply affected by the Communist outlook in the nineteen thirties, I doubt it. Is there not growing evidence that the contemporary world can be seen in terms of another and perhaps deeper antithesis than that across which the rival absolutists glare at each other? No doubt contemporary reality is so daunting that a retreat into competing absolutist faiths *may* be the fate of mankind. If so, there is indeed little to hope for. Locked in the unity of polar opposites, the proponents, some of one faith, some of another, must smash at each other till each has amply verified the dooms pronounced by both. In that worst of all events Mr. Auden's words would come true:

> Violence shall synchronize your movements like a tune
> And Terror like a frost shall halt the flood of thinking.
> Barrack and bivouac shall be your friendly refuge . . .

But is there any conclusive evidence, or even any good evidence, that the stark antithesis in terms of which all the absolutists depict our world is in fact a reflection of reality?

IS NOT another depiction of the contemporary world possible—a depiction in which the true antithesis is seen to be between the absolutists of both kinds, Communists and counter-Communists, and another breed of men whom we might perhaps call, for lack of a better term, the experimentalists? It must be far harder to define this second world outlook, for its very essence will lie in a certain relativism, in a cooler temper and a lower claim. Perhaps a definition can be approached negatively by contrasting the characterization of communism, which might be made from the experimentalist standpoint with the absolutism of the counter-Communists. Mr. Chambers again exemplifies the contrast. For one of the most striking things in his whole book is that his view of communism is completely unhistorical.

Since for him, as for every true counter-Communist, communism is "absolutely evil," it can have no history and no development. It must have appeared in the world at some second fall. It can grow, but only in the sense that hell can enlarge itself. It can never have grown worse, for it was already "absolutely evil." Equally, no doubt, Mr. Chambers would deny that communism could change in the future. Yet nothing can be more confidently predicted than that it will. As the economic development of Russia gathers momentum, it must sooner or later profoundly affect the nature of the Russian system.

This remarkable unhistorical view of communism is not in fact compatible with Mr. Chambers's own pages. In the course of his work he is time after time compelled to explain how he and almost a whole generation of his fellow-intellectuals became Communists. He does so in a series of notable passages—passages far more adequate to their theme than any to be found in Communist writings. For instance, he describes how, while still a devoted Communist, he went to live in Baltimore. He and his wife were at once faced with the problem of how to treat the "colored help" in a human and decent way and yet not cause talk and comment among the neighbors.

> To those who wonder what the appeal of communism is, this episode may be worth pondering upon. . . . When Edith Murray first sat down to table with us—and we were the first white people who had ever asked her to sit at the same table with them—she showed fear, then embarrassment. I will not presume to say what her final feeling was. In any case, what we had to give her was not a place at our table. What we had to give her was something that belonged to her by right, but which had been taken from her, and which we were merely giving back. It was her human dignity. Thus, by insisting on acting as Communists must, we found ourselves

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unwittingly acting as Christians should. I submit that that cuts to the heart of one aspect of the Communist appeal.

How can Mr. Chambers even attempt to reconcile this passage and others similar to it with his statement that communism is "absolutely evil"? He would probably do so by an appeal to a transcendent scale of values in which the above evidences of human goodness, to which he has paid so fine a tribute, are as nothing compared to the basic materialism of the philosophy of communism.

But how strained such a reconciliation must seem to anyone who is content to accept a historical view of communism. No doubt it is true that the horrible perversion which has developed in communism can be traced back from Stalinism through Leninism to Marxism. But no one who denies that it is the perversion of something which was, in original and basic impulse, profoundly good has taken the measure of communism. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Chambers does deny, at least in overt statement, though, as we have seen, he admits it by implication when he comes to explain the appeal of communism.

Of course it is impossible to pick out one particular incident as all-important in the process of the perversion of communism. Some people might point, not to Kronstadt, but to the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly. Some might go back as far as 1902, when Lenin, in his first book, "bent the stick" of Marxism, as he puts it, in favor of direct action by a party of "professional revolutionaries." Others might put the point of perversion much later, at the Stalin-Trotsky struggle after the death of Lenin. Some might put it at the decision to end the N. E. P. and carry through collectivization in spite of everything; or at the stifling, first of the Soviets, and then of all inner party democracy; or at the beginning of the Great Purge; or as late as the Stalin-Hitler pact.

In fact, of course, all these events, and many others of comparable importance, were steps and stages by means of which communism has become the tragic perversion that it now is. No historical task is more urgent than for someone with the knowledge, the theoretical equipment, and the political insight to trace the whole development. Nor would such a historical, realistic, experimentalist treatment of communism necessarily lead to a more favorable verdict than that of blank absolutist denunciation.

It is not, however, over their characterization of communism that the world outlooks of the absolutists and the experimentalists differ most widely. They differ far more importantly still in their estimation of the non-Communist world in which we live. And it is here that the absolutist view is so fatal a guide to action. For the counter-Communists show their polar unity-in-opposition with the Communists above all by their conviction that our Western world is unreformable. It is not merely that they believe we can only be saved by a miracle. They see Western capitalism only as it is, or rather only as it has hitherto been. They take no interest, even, in efforts to modify its very nature. Mr. Chambers, for instance, makes it clear that he brushed off British socialism in a few weeks of undergraduate study, and that he never dreamed of taking the New Deal seriously. For them, just as much as for the Communists, capitalism is capitalism and ever more shall be so.

It is this side of the absolutist attitude which leads the counter-Communists not only to neglect but actively to oppose reformist movements of the characteristically British and American type. And thus, as perhaps we are all fated to do, they seek to fulfil their own dark prophecies.

To say all this is, however, very far from denying importance and merit to the literature of counter-communism. Those elements in their world outlook, including their very urge toward catastrophe, which make them such suicidal guides to political action are often assets to them as authors. Above all in Britain and America their works should on no account be neglected. For it is only too true that one aspect of the world is as they depict it. The "crisis of history," as they call it, if not "total" is undeniably very severe. It is true that we often exhibit "intolerable shallowness of thought combined with incalculable mischief in action"—to quote another of Mr. Chambers's indictments.

But the question remains what to do about it? Mr. Chambers says, "Have faith!" The experimentalist tradition, which is overwhelmingly dominant in Britain and America, must add "and works also."

In particular we must devote ourselves to a continuous effort drastically to modify, to adapt, to reform our politics. For it is that effort at continuous adaptation which, amid so much that is shallow and even base in our communities, differentiates them from most others. A defiant reformism can be the only answer to the absolutists of both the left and the right.

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Prussia Is Still There

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

WHEN the bones of Prussia's warrior king, Frederick the Great, and of his father, Frederick William I, were solemnly reburied in the castle of Hohenzollern on September 14, it was a ceremony of a much deeper significance than a tribute to a royal family or homage to a monarchy. It was an exaltation of immortal Prussia. Addressing two hundred remnants of Germany's royalty and nobility, the old court chaplain of the Hohenzollern family, Dr. Döhring, reminded them that "unless we Germans want to abandon our history we must imprint on our hearts the idea that governed the great father and still greater son: 'People and Fatherland.' " The Fatherland that Döhring meant was not Germany. It was the real "Fatherland"—Prussia.

Ever since the brotherhood of arms that won the last war broke up, we have heard unceasing talk about the consequences of a divided Germany, an occupied Germany. Nobody talks about the division of Prussia; yet these separated fragments have a fatal attraction for each other. Any day they may become once more a whole; and the irresistible impulse toward reunion confronts peace with new perils.

Throughout the centuries Prussia has been the force that has revived a people which seemed, from time to time, irreparably lost. After the terrible beating of the Thirty Years' War, religion and art combined to give new hope to the frustrated German soul; Luther wanted Germany to be "the first in spirit," but the dawn of the seventeenth century saw a religious and a territorial drive inexorably bound together. From 1650 to 1670 and on the rise of Prussia was steady. In the next century, under Frederick the Great, Prussia became the military power which was to provide the foundation of the modern German empire.

After the battle of Valmy, in which Frederick's admirably equipped and trained soldiers were routed by the *sansculotte* rabble of the French Revolution, Prussia's road to hegemony was momentarily barred. And after the disaster of Jena, Napoleon, in Heine's words, "had only to whistle" to make Prussia disappear from the map. But Napoleon did not whistle. Instead, his Foreign Minister, Talleyrand, helped the enemy regain its position as a great power, finally rendering his country the poor service of making Prussia master of the Ruhr—forever after the core of German military strength.

Prussia has always rallied after disaster. As a French historian put it, whenever there is a Brunhilde in the shape of a defeated Germany, a Prussian Siegfried will appear and bring her back to life. In terms of modern politics, the Prussian Siegfried of the second half of the nineteenth century was the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck, a man not only strong and aggressive but also subtle when necessary. Bismarck led Prussia to the victories of Sadova and Sedan that wiped out the humiliation of Jena.

A time of decision is not favorable to political particularism, and so Prussia under Bismarck became the champion of German unity. It imposed upon that unity a Prussian hegemony which reached far beyond the limits set by the Congress of Vienna. Nor did the Iron Chancellor permit Prussia's future role in Germany ever to become vague. When the German Reich was restored in 1871, Bismarck ruled that the King of Prussia should henceforth be the Emperor of Germany. The South German states were chained to Prussia, and their submission was rewarded by a promise of future Teutonic greatness. This promise was not disappointed in the years that followed. Germany's strength expanded in all directions. Starting with the customs union (*Zollverein*), its eco-

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nomic capacity was rapidly developed, fundamentally altering the power ratio of Europe; next the foundations of an overseas empire were laid. Germany's sword was made of Prussian steel; Prussia alone was capable of mounting the "watch on the Rhine." Those who opposed this process were suppressed or went into exile.

In 1914 when William II called the Germans to war, the same design was evident. It was the voice of Prussia proclaiming hegemony over all Europe. The Kaiser's Chief of Staff, the younger Moltke, described the situation in almost the very words used by the old Moltke on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war, when in order to silence the counselors of moderation, he pledged his word that the Prussians could beat the French and that the Emperor of Germany would rule Europe on a much firmer basis than the first Napoleon. World War I was a Prussian adventure from beginning to end.

Hitler, though an outsider, revived Prussia because it offered him the sole possibility of reuniting the Germans for a new epic of domination. Everything that was strong and fighting in his Third Reich was genuinely Prussian. When his favorite historian, Rosenberg, called the Nazis "the Prussians of the twentieth century," he was for once accurate. Under the Hitlerian names of *Führerstaat* and *Volkstaat,* it was the *Preussenstaat* of old and recent history which realized the miracle of a military recovery whose overthrow required five years of fighting by the most powerful coalition on earth. It was the Prussian element in Nazism that made the Germans forget the other aspects of a masquerade which fell far below imperial standards. Grotesque and vulgar, in contrast to the dignity of his great predecessors, Hitler was none the less an incarnation of the Reich, and the Reich remains the supreme historical aspiration of the German people.

In the years before 1866 Bismarck must have doubted many times whether the European powers would be stupid enough to permit Prussia to organize a great Germany. The Prussians of today, working among the torn remnants of the master state, should logically harbor the same doubts. It is true that the French, who know their ancient enemy better than anybody else, insisted during the war that the important thing was not so much the disappearance of the Nazi regime as the destruction of the Prussian military tradition and power, the end of the "soldier nation." But the idea of "deprussianizing" Germany by displacing its center of political gravity from the northeast to the southwest, toward the Frankfurt region which had once witnessed a great attempt to achieve German unity in a democratic way, was abandoned. The Nazi infiltration into the Bonn administration and into the future Wehrmacht has made a shambles of the hope of turning West Germany into a democracy.

Whatever the name of any of the dozen or so Nazi or near-Nazi groups that flourish in West Germany today —Socialist Reich Party, German Reich Party, Refugee Party (*Bund der Heimatlosen und Entrechteten*), German Bloc, Fatherland Union, First Legion—there is always in it an officer of the old army or of the Gestapo, trained in the Prussian school, even if the group develops its activities in regions outside Prussia. Every little while the West greets with naive joy the news that one or another of these groups has been dissolved by order of the Bonn government or of its own leaders. But new ones spring up, and the spirit that inspires them remains the same.

In East Germany the official theory is that Prussianism is dead, thanks to the economic policies of the Russian occupation. The seizure and distribution of the great landed estates has without doubt undermined the system of power which rested on the Junker ruling caste. But Prussianism in the east is not dead; it is merely repressed; and the Russians, if they are not aware of that now, will one day find it out.

We are faced consequently with a double and threatening reality: a desire for reunion shared by all Ger-

Drawings by Zilzer

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mans regardless of section or class, with Prussia, as always, serving as the chief unifying, centralizing force. To say this is dangerous is not to oppose unification as such. In fact, an unsatisfied passion for reunion would be a greater threat to peace than a Germany reunited under proper safeguards. For the present state of artificial division, maintained by arms and the exigencies of the cold war, offers the Prussian spirit its best chance to play off one set of powers against the other, gambling even on the suicidal possibility of German restoration by means of war.

What can one propose to meet this concrete menace? The only answer is unification through an agreement among the Big Four powers which will rule out the massive rearming of Germany and the rise of a new arms industry in the Ruhr, support the growth of democratic practices, and enforce a policy of neutrality. Such a program would reduce if not eliminate the dangers to East and West alike involved in the resurrection of a German Reich. It presumes a common willingness to moderate the cold war in recognition of the rising threat of a new aggressive Prussianism which owes no allegiance or gratitude toward any of its present suitors.

The Prussians of today, east and west, have constantly in their minds the areas of Germany ceded to Poland, above all Silesia and the eastern part of Pomerania. The twelve million former inhabitants of those areas, distributed as refugees all over Germany, are a potential part of Mr. Dulles's "army of liberation." They would march toward a reconquest of their former lands as soon as they were supplied with arms to back up their bruised spirits. Other Prussians are looking toward the West, toward France, against which the generals of so many generations have led armies of invasion, inflamed by the passion for a greater Reich. Others still are flirting with both Russians and Americans at the same time. What they think is this: if America is stronger, it will help them liberate the lost Prussian territories in the East; if Russia comes out on top, it can offer them, as a price for their alliance, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Alsace-Lorraine, or whatever else they fancy.

The heavy industry needed to turn these dreams into reality is already rising impressively in the Ruhr. Its mills have never stopped working, and if it is experiencing any trouble today it is congestion. One need only compare the production figures for 1951: coal—122,000,000 tons for Germany as against 70,000,000 for France with the Saar; steel—16,000,000 tons for Germany as against 10,000,000 for France. The disproportion is increasing with every year, and this is only the start of German and Prussian recovery. Viewed against the history of yesterday and the facts of today, the hopes of the Western politicians and intellectuals who believe that it is possible to rearm Germany without also bringing about a renaissance of Prussia and a formidable pressure from all parts of Germany for a new Reich are so naive as to make one smile were it not for the fact that in this situation lies the real danger of World War III.

Five Pivotal States: Election Round-up

CONNECTICUT

Benton Favored

BY CHADWICK HALL

Hartford

CONNECTICUT has only eight electoral votes, but it is a key state this year because control of the Senate is likely to hinge on three seats and Connecticut will elect two Senators. The race will be close; most Connecticut elections are. Six of the nine gubernatorial elections since 1934 were won by fewer than 25,000 votes in a state where 900,000 voters go to the polls.

The lower house of the Connecticut legislature is regularly controlled by the Republicans through a rotten-borough system which heavily favors the rural districts; the upper house, by the Democrats. The most important fact about the Connecticut voter is that he is a ticket-splitter. Four years ago the state went Republican for the first time since 1932 in a Presidential election, giving Dewey a plurality of 14,456 votes. In 1950 it sent two Democrats, Brien McMahon and William Benton, to the Senate but defeated Governor Bowles by 17,014 votes. Benton, who had been appointed by Bowles to fill Raymond Baldwin's unexpired senatorial term, was making his first bid for public office.

Unlike the Protestant "native," who usually votes Republican in the country and Democratic in the city, the large foreign-born and first-generation population votes for a candidate, not a party. For these groups the "issues" boil down chiefly to the candidate's nationality and religion. Catering to their vote, both parties usually adopt a "mixed" slate—Protestant governor, Irish lieutenant governor, Italian representative at large, Polish attorney general. The voter of foreign descent therefore pays little attention to the party label and habitually splits his ticket.

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Unless there is an Eisenhower landslide Senator Benton is expected to win handily over his Republican opponent, William Purtell, former president of the Connecticut Association of Manufacturers, who was appointed to fill McMahon's seat until the election. Benton had a narrow squeak in 1950, but since then his excellent voting record has gained him widespread support. His fight to oust McCarthy from the Senate has also made him many friends, although it has aroused the resentment of some groups, notably the Irish. The Republican-controlled press has played down McCarthyism, and Purtell is understandably reluctant to commit himself on this issue: he would either have to line up with Benton or support a man who was given a very cold shoulder in Connecticut when he stumped against Benton in 1950. Benton's chances were materially improved when Vivien Kellems entered the race. Running on the Independent Republican ticket, she may take as many as 8,000 votes from Purtell.

The amazing popularity in the First Congressional District of Abraham Ribicoff, whom Joseph Alsop has called the most "independent, intelligent, and courageous" Representative in Congress, is mainly due to his reputation for voting according to his conscience rather than from political expediency. He voted right on the C. I. O.'s list of sixteen key issues, only one of which had anything to do with labor. He showed great courage in opposing price supports for shade tobacco, a widely cultivated crop in his district, and a public-works bill which would have poured $32,000,000 in federal aid into his state—he was against the latter on the ground that pork-barrel legislation should wait until the national deficit was reduced. Despite his refusal to conciliate special interests, large or small, he beat his Republican rival in 1950 by 38,000 votes. But he will have tougher sledding this fall. He is the first Jew in Connecticut's history to run for Senator; his opponent, Prescott Bush, is a well-known Wall Street financier.

The major handicap for the Democratic organization this year is the loss of McMahon, whose large pluralities carried many a weak nominee into office. But the Republicans have made some serious mistakes. They chose Bush instead of Clare Boothe Luce—a proved vote-getter—to oppose Ribicoff, and Governor Lodge's high-handed methods of running party affairs have alienated many county and city party chairmen. Moreover, unless Eisenhower sweeps the state, the bulk of the 13,000 votes which Wallace got in 1948 will almost certainly turn up in the Democratic column.

The big question in Connecticut is: If Eisenhower wins, how large will his margin be? Even though Stevenson loses Connecticut's handful of electoral votes, his barn-storming tour may so dilute the pronounced pro-Eisenhower sentiment that enough persons will split their ballots to send Benton and Ribicoff to Washington.

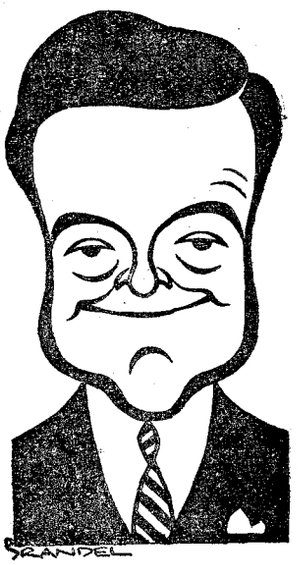
MASSACHUSETTS

Lodge Dislodged?

BY EDWARD J. MICHELSON

Boston

THESE are trying times for Massachusetts Republicans. Their standard-bearer, the handsome, elegant, and aristocratic Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., up for reelection for a fourth term, appears doomed to defeat. Lodge faces the most formidable opponent of his career, Representative John F. Kennedy, son of the former ambassador to London and grandson of the late John ("Honey Fitz") Fitzgerald, one-time mayor of Boston. Most of the state's Republican candidates are as dependent on Lodge's vote-getting prowess as he is on Eisenhower's. And at this writing Ike is not likely to carry Massachusetts.



Senator Lodge

To hold that Lodge, as an Episcopalian, is handicapped in a predominantly Roman Catholic electorate is gross over-simplification, despite the prominence of the Kennedys as Catholic communicants and their donations to charities of all faiths. True, Massachusetts is one of the two states that outlaw planned parenthood. And in some Boston precincts Britain's "partition of Ireland" is still a burning issue. But Lodge and his fellow-Senator, Leverett Saltonstall, both Protestants, have repeatedly defeated Catholics running on the Democratic ticket in a basically Democratic state. Both had at least tacit support from the late Cardinal O'Connell.

In Massachusetts the vote for President has little relationship to that for Senator, which in turn may vary greatly from the vote for Representative. In fact, the young Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., won his first bid for national office in the Landon débâcle of 1936. His isolationism during his first Senate term and his extreme conservatism in general may account for the smallness of his margin—fewer than 100,000 votes—when he was reelected in 1942, after he had gone to war as an army reservist. In 1944 he resigned from the Senate to remain on active duty overseas as General Devers's liaison officer with the French. Returning to the political wars in 1946, he won the most spectacular victory of his career by de-

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feating the aging Democratic incumbent, David I. Walsh, by 320,000.

This year gloom pervades the Lodge camp because the youthful Kennedy is more than a match for the Senator in assets that count in state politics—charm, wealth, and social prestige. Both men are independents, each in his own fashion. For years Lodge has castigated the more orthodox state and national Republican leaders; he does not think that a contributor's voice in party councils must be commensurate with the size of his check. He also resents the repeated refusal of the state organization to prepare a balanced ticket—that is, to place on it able Jews or persons of French Canadian, Italian, Polish, or even Irish extraction. This year the Republicans have changed their tactics, and the organization candidates for attorney general and auditor are Jewish. The nomination of an Italian American for state treasurer is a further attempt to lure back into the party a large group of foreign extraction.

Kennedy's independence is different but just as irritating to party regulars. He has frowned on resolutions sponsored by his Congressional colleagues excoriating Great Britain for not uniting Northern Ireland with Eire. He refused to sign a petition for a complete pardon for Boston's former mayor, James M. Curley, when that worthy was sent to federal prison on a fraud conviction.

When Representative Kennedy disclosed his aspirations late last spring, he remarked that the state's present Senators were primarily concerned with international crises. That was understandable, he said, but he thought it was time for Massachusetts to have a Senator who also worried about domestic crises, notably the unemployment in the state caused by the flight of the textile and leather-manufacturing industries.

Since then Kennedy, in behalf of organized labor in New England, has fought a National Production Authority plan to grant the General Electric Company generous tax benefits in the form of rapid-amortization certificates on projected new plants in the South; in behalf of the Gloucester fisheries he has urged the Tariff Commission to impose a duty on frozen fish from Scandinavia; he has opposed big appropriations for dams and steam plants in the Tennessee Valley on the ground that cheap power produced at public expense makes it possible for the South to lure industry from New England. Kennedy is supported by the political arms of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., of the non-operating rail brotherhoods, and of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Labor leaders are not happy, however, about opposing Lodge. By their standards his record is good.

Lodge is finding that his role in the pre-convention Eisenhower campaign for the Presidential nomination is becoming more of a drawback than an asset. His exploitation of the Taftites' attempt to steal the Southern delegations at Chicago is still resented in Boston and in the eastern part of the state. The pro-Taft New Bedford *Standard-Times* treats him with as much contempt as does the Chicago *Tribune*. The Boston *Herald* is for him, the *Globe* is independent, and the *Post*, traditionally a Democratic organ, has not yet committed itself.

Since the independent vote in Massachusetts is large, ranging up to 40 per cent of the total, Lodge is worried about stay-at-homes on Election Day.

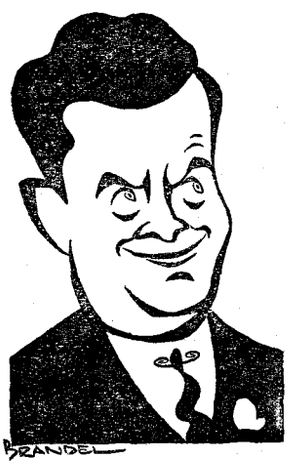
MICHIGAN

Key Negro Vote

BY NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Detroit

EX-NEWSPAPERMAN Blair Moody, Michigan's junior Senator by virtue of Governor G. Mennen Williams's interim appointment in 1951, will face Representative Charles E. Potter, member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in the contest for the Senate seat of the late Arthur H. Vandenberg. The issue in the Moody-Potter battle is clear. The Congressional box score kept by Americans for Democratic Action rates Moody as one of the nation's ten most liberal legislators, Potter as one of the most reactionary. In a published survey of Senate and House voting records on legislation having "ethical and moral implications," agencies of the Evangelical and Reformed church, the Methodist church, the American Baptist Convention, the Congregational Christian churches, the Friends, and other Protestant denominations called Moody's record perfect; while Potter was found to have voted consistently against bills with "ethical and moral implications."



Senator Moody

The state's industry-oriented press, however, has told the voters little of Moody's achievements in furthering clean government, consumer interests, peace, and social welfare. And when it has reported his labor and civil-rights record, its account has been colored by the use of such terms as "C. I. O. stooge" and "captive of the left-wing A. D. A." Potter, on the other hand, has received laudatory headlines for his investigation of alleged Communist infiltration into Detroit's labor movement. His

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loss of both legs in a land-mine explosion during World War II has also been publicized in paid advertisements in newspapers and in television "spots." As a device for gaining votes this is a disturbing if not readily assessable innovation.

Potter entered politics in 1947 when he won a special election for a House vacancy caused by the death of Representative Fred Bradley. In 1948 and 1950 Michigan's Eleventh Congressional district returned him to office. As a member of the conservative wing of the Republican Party he voted to restore the power of the House Rules Committee to keep legislation from a vote on the floor, against easing restrictions on foreign trade, for the removal of price and rent controls, and for the abolition of the Wage Stabilization Board, thereby putting labor disputes under the Taft-Hartley act in time of national emergency. He voted for state ownership of tidelands oil, against legislation to benefit migratory labor in the Southwest, against foreign economic aid, for use of the Taft-Hartley injunction in the steel dispute, for the McCarran immigration bill.

Moody not only always took the opposite side from Potter but voted with Senator Douglas on economy bills, with Senator Monroney on ways of ending corruption, with Senator Sparkman on legislation to protect small business, with Senator Aiken on the St. Lawrence Seaway, with Senators Lehman and Humphrey on civil rights and immigration, and with Senator Kefauver against the monopolistic basing-point bill. His co-sponsorship of a bill that would give temporary federal supplements to persons thrown out of work by the defense-mobilization program focused national attention on the double standard used by the government in its treatment of industries and workers affected by defense dislocation.

This impressive record has prompted Potter to refer to Moody in his campaign speeches as "the most dangerous man in the Senate" and as "Mr. Socialist Welfare State." Moody has retaliated by calling Potter "a captive candidate . . . backed by the king-makers of the auto industry."

In 1948, with the Progressives holding the balance of power, Dewey captured Michigan by a scant 35,000 votes. This year, with the Progressive Party in eclipse, the Democrats have the problem of activating indifferent rather than straying voters. Detroit's approximately 350,000 Negroes, in a population of 2,000,000, gave Roosevelt overwhelming support in four elections. With Senator Sparkman running for Vice-President, this vote can no longer be taken for granted. If a sizable number of Negroes believe that his election means the end of the Administration's fight for civil rights they may stay home in November. Their defection could insure Potter's victory. This situation has forced Moody into an awkward role. An out-and-out advocate of civil rights, he must "sell" to the Detroit Negroes the man he hotly opposed in the convention on the question of seating the Dixiecrat delegations from Louisiana, Virginia, and South Carolina. His chance of returning to Washington depends on his success in this task.

OHIO

Political Paradox

BY RICHARD L. MAHER

Cleveland

UNTIL 1932 Ohio usually chose a Democratic governor and gave its Electoral College votes to the Republican candidate for the Presidency. In the past twenty years the Republican Presidential candidate has carried the state only once—in 1944, when "Honest John" Bricker was Dewey's running-mate. And in the same period Ohio elected a Republican governer—the same Bricker—for three consecutive terms.

Right now, some weeks before the election, it looks as if this year Ohio might go for Stevenson, reelect to an unprecedented fourth term Governor Frank J. Lausche, who runs under the Democratic label but is as conservative as the bankers and industrialists who support him with enthusiasm, and return Bricker, the arch-conservative, to the United States Senate. Bricker appears to have the best chance of all. His opponent is Michael V. DiSalle, who resigned as head of the Office of Price Stabilization last January to seek the Democratic senatorial nomination. DiSalle, a strong progressive, has Lausche's support.

Lausche, the son of a Slovenian immigrant, an individualist in politics, unorthodox in his methods, has adopted the role of "independent" but is a thoroughly practical politician. In 1944, when Roosevelt lost the state, Lausche's huge city majorities far outweighed the rural vote against him. He lost in the Republican sweep of the 1946 mid-term elections but won easily in 1948—although he waited until the last weeks of the campaign to speak for Harry Truman. He was reelected in 1950 and is given a better than even chance in November.

His opponent is Charles P. Taft, the Senator's younger brother. Charles P. Taft is a liberal; in fact, he is often derisively called a "Fair Deal Republican." As a member of the Charter Party, he has fought the Republican machine in Cincinnati. The machine retaliated by opposing him in the primaries, as did most of the Republican bosses, but he won the nomination for governor despite their efforts. He has campaigned for his brother in other primaries, but Bob did not campaign for him.

Charles Taft will cut into Lausche's following among

RICHARD L. MAHER of the Cleveland Press *was the author of the chapter on Ohio in Robert S. Allen's "Our Sovereign State."*

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the "law and order" folks. For years Lausche has been the knight in shining armor, fighting the gangsters, racketeers, and crooks. He has closed gambling clubs, removed public officials for failure to halt gambling, and repeatedly asked the legislature for greater powers to preserve law and order. But Taft is also highly respectable. As former president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, he is favorably known to Protestant churchgoers, and his recent attack on critics of parochial schools was praised in the Catholic press.

Taft is making roads a major issue in the campaign. Surveys show that at least $150,000,000 will have to be spent during the next ten to twenty years to modernize the state's highways. Lausche talks of twenty years; Taft wants it done in six. He blames Lausche for the fact that the projected toll highway from the Pennsylvania Turnpike westward is just being begun although it was authorized more than three years ago.

Charley's worst break came when his brother failed to get the Republican nomination for President. Had Bob been nominated, money would have poured in, and Charley would have benefited. Republicans who dislike Charley as much as they love his brother would have gone along out of loyalty to Bob. Today Bob's henchmen in Ohio are refusing to help Charley. So there will be queer doings in Ohio this fall: some Democrats will support Taft for governor and some Republicans, irked by his "New Dealism," will oppose him.

The DiSalle-Bricker contest offers the only clear-cut choice between two philosophies of government. DiSalle represents the New Deal, the Roosevelt-Truman policies; Bricker follows the conservative Republican line. DiSalle attacks Bricker's record and dares him to file a statement of expenditures. Bricker ignores him. DiSalle has been using the new technique of the talkathon in his campaign and here Bricker stole a march on him. He invaded the first of DiSalle's talkathons, spent an hour debating with his rival, and departed, leaving DiSalle to pick up the check for about $1,000 worth of television time. Bricker's confidence is based on the theory that a citizenry which reelected Bob Taft in 1950 by 430,000 votes will not turn him down for Harry Truman's wisecracking ex-price stabilizer.

Michael V. DiSalle

Organized labor in early polls has indicated an overwhelming preference for Stevenson, DiSalle, and, oddly enough, Lausche, who does not get along with labor leaders and calls unions "pressure groups."

TEXAS

Democrats for Ike

BY STUART LONG

Austin

TEXAS'S twenty-four electoral votes can loom big if the Presidential race is close, and conservative Democrats are joining Republicans in an attempt to swing those votes to the state's native son, Dwight Eisenhower.

Although Governor Shivers, who is at the end of his political road, had lived up to the letter of the loyalty pledge given at Chicago, he had little to lose by ordering his hand-picked delegates to the Democratic convention at Amarillo to indorse Ike. The state's attorney general, Price Daniel, who has just won the Democratic nomination for Senator to succeed Tom Connally, had more at stake, but he denounced Stevenson and said he would vote for the candidate who promised to give Texas back its tidelands oil.

The situation is further complicated by the system of cross-filing, which has produced two identical tickets except for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. Strenuous efforts are being made to convince lifelong Democrats that they would be voting Democratic by voting the Republican ticket, since it includes fifteen Democratic nominees. The Democratic Party leadership and the Jack Porter Republicans who took the G. O. P. machinery away from the Old Guard, with the help of *Life, Time,* the national press, and the Republican National Convention, are working hand in glove. In fact, the new chairmen of the state Democratic and Republican executive committees, Wallace Savage and Alvin Lane, are law partners in Dallas.

Senator Lyndon Johnson and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn are leading the pro-Stevenson forces. When two members of the state's Congressional delegation announced they could not support Stevenson because of his tidelands-oil stand, Rayburn said in a radio speech that members of the Democratic Committee on Committees had asked him whether these gentlemen want to be assigned by the Democrats or the Republicans in the next session. Since then, eight other Representatives have lined up with Rayburn and Johnson.

A recent Texas poll found that Stevenson's lead decreased 5 per cent after his statement on tidelands oil, but he still has a 6 or 7 per cent majority over Eisenhower. A high-pressure advertising and speaking campaign, financed mainly by oil money, is now trying to swing the needed votes to Ike. Rayburn might be able to dry up some of the sources of Republican and Dixiecrat money by threatening repeal of the 27½ per cent depletion allowance for the oil industry, but he has issued only

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veiled warnings which have not scared anybody. He has talked of such action for years, and up to now the oil men have been afraid to withdraw their support from the Democratic Presidential candidates. This year, with top industry executives campaigning for Ike through both parties, the situation is different.

Former Representative Maury Maverick provided the pressure at Chicago which forced Shivers and his delegation to take the loyalty pledge but is getting no credit for his deed. Now that Stevenson and Sparkman are on the ticket, Maverick is being pushed into the background and Rayburn is directing operations.

Former Vice-President Garner, who indorsed Truman in 1948, has not spoken up yet, but he is a party man and will probably come out for Stevenson. Jesse Jones and his powerful Houston *Chronicle* may find their way to Adlai's camp. The Dallas *Morning News* has been for Ike all along—it has supported Republican nominees since 1936. The big break away from the Democrats is Amon Carter's Fort Worth *Star Telegram,* which is beating its breast almost daily about tidelands oil.

Lyndon Johnson, with his young, aggressive organization, can probably decide how Texas goes on November 4. If he really turns to Stevenson, Texas will stay in the Democratic column. If he leaves the task to Rayburn, who represents only one district and has limited contacts, Governor Shivers may be proved right in saying that Texas is a doubtful state.

[*Next week's issue will discuss the reelection chances of four Senators of the so-called "Class of '46"—men swept into office by an electorate whose appetite for change had been sharpened by the 1946 meat shortage.*]

The French Left: New Directions

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

USUALLY changes in the direction of the French, or any other, Communist Party are carried out with the utmost discretion and learned of only much later by the outside world. Not so this time: the dismissal of André Marty from the party secretariat, where, in the absence of Maurice Thorez, he, Duclos, and Lecœur formed a ruling triumvirate, and of Charles Tillon from the political bureau were communicated with a kind of relish to all the "bourgeois" papers and news agencies of France. The announcement even washed some dirty linen in public: it declared, for instance, that Marty and Tillon had been playing a "double game" and that "many comrades considered the sanctions taken against them too light."

Are the "fractionalism" and "sectarianism" with which Marty and Tillon are charged really relevant to their downfall? It is interesting to note that practically all the items of the indictment are concerned with Tillon and not with Marty. Tillon, we are told, misinterpreted the real role and significance of the Peace Movement and tried to turn it into a narrow political organization. Having been removed in 1951 from the post of Communist representative on the Peace Movement, he had confessed his errors to the party but nevertheless persisted in them. He had expressed his real views in a secret meeting of party members at the house of "a comrade who had not been reelected to the Central Committee by the twelfth (1949) congress." It was at the flat of this discredited person that Marty had identified himself with Tillon, and after repeated attempts to deny that he had attended the meeting, he had finally admitted the truth. This is the only precise charge against Marty in the whole document. However, it brands as a liar a man who, more than almost anyone else, had been built up into a legend—the hero of the Black Sea revolt of 1919, after whom a Soviet warship had been named.

Charles Tillon was an important figure in the French Resistance and later a minister in the De Gaulle governments of 1945-47. One charge brought against him is that he did not sufficiently identify the Communist Resistance groups with the Communist Party and did not give adequate credit to Thorez—who was actually in Moscow during the war years—for the leading part he played in the Resistance. The connection between this "improper" attitude and the present "purge" is not very clear, and the real reasons for the disgrace of Marty and Tillon must be sought elsewhere.

Since the famous demonstration against General Ridgway on May 28, the failure of the general strike on June 4, and the arrest of Duclos and André Stil, there has been a lot of heart-searching in the party. Marty was held chiefly responsible for these events. But what was perhaps more important, it was clear that he had little faith in an eventual revival of the Popular Front, an idea that began to take shape in June. At a meeting in the Vélodrome d'Hiver soon after the anti-Ridgway riots the wife of Maurice Thorez, Jeannette Vermeersch, who might be called la Pasionaria of France, appealed for a much broader basis for the "anti-American resistance movement." Marty, in a long and boring speech, asso-

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ciated himself with this line only in a vague and lukewarm way. It was obvious that he did not subscribe to the "soft" policy of Duclos or to the Thorez view that without allies the French Communist Party would be incapable of checking the "enslavement of France by American capitalism."

ALTHOUGH the French Communist Party is probably very conscious of its isolation and knows that, as one commentator recently put it, "France would be much more outspokenly anti-American but for the Communists," it has since June come more and more to the conclusion that the battle for the "National Front" is far from lost. One of the great stumbling-blocks was not only the attitude but the personality of Marty, who, unlike Thorez ("the ideal French proletarian type") and the fat jolly Duclos, is considered an intolerant fanatic; in the bourgeois imagination he is the "typical GPU man" and "the Butcher of Albacete," as Hemingway, perhaps exaggeratedly, depicted him in "For Whom the Bell Tolls." The French Communists would find a rapprochement with all other "men of good-will" very difficult as long as Marty was one of the party heads.

Duclos, the "moderate," defined the desired National Front as a great rally of men and women of all opinions, beliefs, and social conditions, whose purpose would not be limited to the preservation of national independence and the defense of peace. The National Front would also seek, he said, "to promote an economic, financial, and social policy which would assure, within the framework of a peace economy, the prosperity of French industry and agriculture, the satisfaction of the most urgent needs of the working masses, the development of fruitful trade with all countries, and the launching of a great public-works and housing program." Only the alliance of all patriots with the Communists in such a National Front, he argued, could "bring about the formation of a government determined to pursue such a policy."

Pierre Cot, leader of the near-Communist Progressives, read into this perhaps a little more than was intended and was rapped over the knuckles by M. Lecœur—the dauphin of the Communist Party and with Thorez, Duclos, and Marty one of the Big Four—for suggesting that since the "coexistence" of capitalism and communism was possible in the world (Stalin *dixit*), socialism and capitalism might "coexist" within France. This, Lecœur thought, was going a bit too far. Yet such a "corruption" of Duclos's words was almost understandable.

While the present leadership of the French Communist Party frowns on right-wing deviations of the Pierre Cot variety—Cot has already in effect apologized in an article in the *Monde*—the victory of the National Front idea over proletarian sectarianism is apparent from the disgrace of Marty. At present the Communists have little hope of translating the idea into reality; but they are looking ahead. Suppose there is a major financial crisis in France, or an attempt to set up a dictatorship or a semi-dictatorship, or imminent danger of war, especially if Eisenhower wins. In 1939 the Communists were more isolated than they are now, but three years later, under the occupation, they were fully accepted as partners in the Resistance. Might not something similar happen again?

And there is another point. Since Duclos was framed by the police, a growing number of French intellectuals, fearing crypto-fascism as much as fascism, have been feeling more sympathetic toward the Communists. Jean-Paul Sartre, until recently hated by the Communists for his play "Dirty Hands" (presented in the United States as "Red Gloves") and much else, has said openly that the French workers are inevitably and legitimately Communist, that they have no alternative, and has poked ferocious fun at his former friends of *Franc-Tireur* and others who theorize about a "non-Communist French left." In *Figaro,* François Mauriac has been wringing his hands over M. Sartre. "Certain young intellectuals," he wrote recently, "embody today a fearful contradiction from which no amount of dialectics can deliver them. They are certain they belong to a civilization that is now on its deathbed, that history is moving in the Marxist direction, and that in the long run the policy of the West can do nothing to stop it. . . . It is another misfortune of France's young generation which, one must admit, M. Sartre has again succeeded in personifying." And with a candor almost inconceivable in any other Western country, Mauriac went on to pay tribute to the "brilliance" of Communist and near-Communist writers, thus betraying once again, despite all his good Catholic deploring, that sneaking regard for the extreme left which exists in some of the most unexpected quarters in France.

It is against this background—which so upset General Eisenhower—that one must view the timid but real hopes lying at the root of the National Front idea. Not an intellectual himself, Duclos relies all the more on the support and sympathy that will be given to the Communist Party by the French intellectuals, who, few as they are, have always had more influence in France than in any other country. Perhaps he exaggerates the importance of M. Sartre's change of heart. At the same time various other quite unexpected and paradoxical factors may play into the hands of the Communists. For instance, there is the important pressure group of the North African French. I have heard it predicted that if the United States should support Tunis and Morocco against France at the U. N., this pressure group would organize a vast *non-Communist* agitation against America throughout France. In such a case one can imagine the French Communists saying no more about "the downtrodden Moslem multitudes fighting for their national independence."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Artist in Search of a Function

THE BRIGHT MEDUSA. By Howard Mumford Jones. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

LITERARY historians in the academic tradition usually count by centuries, but contemporary American critics count by decades. We speak of the twenties, the thirties, and the forties much as they speak of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, and to that extent at least we make culture hum. Movements are finished almost before they are started, and discredited writers are revived before the slower-witted have noticed that they were dead. The young Max Beerbohm's ironic envy of still younger writers who had weeks of activity before them would hardly pass as satire here. We make classics in record time, as witness the case of Scott Fitzgerald—or has he perhaps died again already?

Serious intellectuals like ourselves scorn the loyal followers of the best-seller lists, who have to look lively if they want to read what everybody is reading before everybody is reading something else, but we are only a little better off, and frequently "serious books" can no longer be taken seriously by the time we have got around to them. The more decades our own lives happen to have spanned, the more complicated it becomes, and if we were young in the twenties we now hear people only ten years our junior gravely discussing the characteristics of a historical epoch which seems to us like yesterday. We saw Anderson, Cather, Dreiser, and—if we were very lucky—Fitzgerald plain.

Howard Mumford Jones was precociously publishing books even before the twenties began. In these lectures delivered at the University of Chicago's Festival of Contemporary Arts he begins with a brief reference to the role of mere fashion in literary taste and then proposes to discuss the now legendary decade which came to an end with the depression. What were its actual characteristics? How new and how unrelated to the immediate past does it now seem to have been? Where can we go from there?

From the Mizener biography of Fitzgerald he quotes the opinion that the distinguishing characteristic of the decade was the conviction, much stronger than the surface cynicism, "that anyone could do anything." Finding that rather dubious as well as vague, he comes up instead with the suggestion—new in its emphasis to me at least—that the most characteristic affirmation was an exalted, almost fanatical faith in the artist as such. Religion and patriotism had been exposed as frauds and were obviously dead. America had no culture, and its famous dream had revealed itself to be only a determination to get rich in ignoble and often dishonest ways. But the dedicated artist was still possible. He lived in a social as well as a cultural vacuum; he was usually poor and usually despised; he believed in nothing except art. But in the name of art he would sacrifice everything including himself. This, for all the murkiness of expression, seems to him to be what Fitzgerald is trying to say. This is what Willa Cather certainly does say much more clearly and coolly. The Bright Medusa destroys those who look upon her, but she is the only divine being left in a fraudulent world and hence the only thing capable of inspiring a genuine worship. In his own way Thomas Wolfe, who is taken as the last of that generation, works around to the same conclusion.

Mr. Jones pauses to insist that something very much like this attitude had already been assumed a generation before by Santayana and William Vaughn Moody as well as by other less well-remembered writers and then asks the inevitable "why?" Did this attempt to make the artist the only admirable man really mean that he had, in actual fact, ceased to have any function whatsoever? Did it mean that having long ago lost his primitive ritualistic function, having more recently ceased to reinterpret the myths of a culture, and having, most recently of all, rejected or been rejected by the political system under which he lived, he must either be mystically exalted or dismissed entirely?

The thirties, Mr. Jones says, tried to remedy the situation by talking about "social significance"; the forties by trying to invent a myth to the development of which the artist might devote himself. Both enterprises failed. "Social significance" has become a term of derision, and the myths fail to live outside the circle of the initiates whose business it is to discuss them. Hence the modern artist is still in search of a function. Poetry, painting, and sometimes even fiction tend more and more either to have no subject at all or to invent one which has no reference to anything outside the art itself. Is there any public subject which the artist might profitably discuss in a public language?

This is certainly the hardest of the questions, and Mr. Jones cannot be blamed if he gives no simple conclusive answer. He makes Randolph Bourne the hero of the last section and tentatively suggests that the subject might be "American radicalism"—a term which he borrows from an article by President Conant published in the *Atlantic* a decade ago. As defined it comes pretty close to being what is usually called "liberalism," and there are some who doubt that it really has many supporters today. Even if it has, there is still a question just what form the exploitation might take.

Mr. Jones is at least sure of some of the things which his program does not mean. It does not mean simple-minded, cheerful, right-thinking propaganda of the sort sometimes overpraised at the present moment. Neither does it mean an American version of what the Russians call "socialist realism." It would mean some art having a relation to the spirit of the age analogous to that achieved by many writers of the past who were neither condemned to work in a vacuum nor romantically overvalued in the fashion of the twenties. Three lectures are not long enough to permit any answer much more explicit than that. Perhaps no answer more explicit could be given. If Mr. Jones thinks it could, a longer book would be welcome.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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The Famous Partnership

BEATRICE WEBB'S DIARIES, 1912-1924. Edited by Margaret I. Cole. Longmans, Green and Company. $5.

BRITAIN today would have been very different from what it is if there had been no Sidney and Beatrice Webb," writes Lord Beveridge in introducing this book. He amply proves his point by summarizing the outstanding achievements of the famous partnership. In the field of ideas, for instance, they developed the conception of a "national minimum" on which has been reared the structure of the Welfare State. They were protagonists of the inductive approach to the social sciences; they created the London School of Economics; they founded the *New Statesman.*

The Webbs were rather late converts to the necessity for independent labor political organization, but after 1917 Sidney played a leading part in transforming the Labor Party from a trade-union pressure group into an effective national organization. Among the builders of British Labor he ranks with Keir Hardie and Arthur Henderson.

To students of modern Britain, Beatrice Webb left an invaluable legacy in her diaries. In her lifetime she used these as basic material for two autobiographical works—"My Apprenticeship," in which she told the story of her early life and described how she learnt her craft and developed her creed, and "Our Partnership," which covered the first twenty years of her marriage.

This new volume, edited by her literary executor, Margaret Cole, takes the story from 1912 down to the formation in 1924 of the first Labor government, in which Sidney held the office of President of the Board of Trade. Inevitably, it is not comparable to the two earlier works, in which Mrs. Webb used extensive passages from her diaries to illustrate and comment on a running personal narrative. Very properly Mrs. Cole has not attempted to reproduce this pattern but has let the journal speak for itself and confined her editing to footnotes identifying persons mentioned and to clarifying references which might be obscure to some readers.

The Webb diaries were the fruit of a life-long addiction to insomnia, and it is fortunate that Beatrice rather than Sidney was the sufferer. Had he kept a diary it might have provided a valuable factual record, but it would have been dry reading, with little of the literary quality and few of the subjective elements that make Beatrice's journalizing so fascinating.

Sidney was a healthy, happy extrovert whose thinking was purely secular. His wife was a far more complicated being, given to introspection and prone to fits of depression. As her diaries show, she felt keenly the need of religion and all her life groped for a spiritual creed which could be reconciled with her faith in scientific method. "Deep down in one's heart," she wrote in 1920, "is a realization that the discovery of the laws of nature in order that men may become the creators of a better world is an act of piety, one of the ways that we can bring about the Kingdom of God."

Mingled with such musings are detailed reports both of the Webbs' own manifold activities and of contemporary politics. Beatrice and Sidney had friends and acquaintances in all parties, and they were on good terms with leading civil servants. Thus the diaries throw an important light on such events as the formation of Lloyd George's War Cabinet in 1916, the 1917 Reconstruction Committee of which Beatrice was a member, the 1918 election, and of course the war-time activities of the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party.

Beatrice combined a reporter's nose for news with a novelist's eye for character. The diaries are full of sharply etched portraits. There is, for instance, James Ramsay MacDonald, "the Parnell of the Labor Party—but a Parnell who does not believe in his own cause"; Tagore, the Hindu mystic and poet, imbued with "spiritual insolence" and hostile to "all that the Webbs stand for," but withal "a person of great intellect, distinction, and outstanding personal charm" whose "speech has the perfect intonation and slow chant-like moderation of the dramatic saint"; Sir Oswald Mosley, "the most brilliant man in the House of Commons . . . the perfect politician who is also the perfect gentleman. . . . So much perfection argues rottenness somewhere. . . . Is there in him some weak spot which will be revealed in time of stress?"

Beatrice has some surprisingly acid remarks to make about the stupidity and ignorance of trade-union leaders, and her moral snobbery—"physical appetites are to me the very devil, the root of the hatred, malice, and greed that make the life of man a futility"—inspires severe strictures on such embodiments of the pleasures of the flesh as Lord Haldane and the Swedish Socialist leader Hjalmar Branting.

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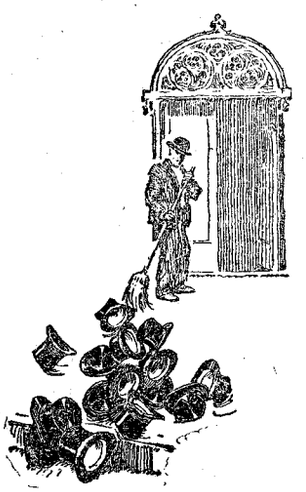

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In the early days of the Russian Revolution the Webbs met Litvinov, Kamenev, and a number of other Bolshevik emissaries to England and were unfavorably impressed by all of them with the exception of Krassin. Altogether their attitude to the Soviet Union was decidedly cool. "The conclusion to which Sidney and I had come from a distance," Beatrice writes in July, 1920, after hearing reports from a Labor delegation to Russia "—that the Soviet government had changed its basic ideal from workers' control and general anarchic freedom to rigid consumers' collectivism—seems to be true. The Soviet government is the 'servile state' in being. . . . But it is a servile state run by fanatics who refuse any compromise with the 'bourgeois fetish' of personal freedom."

What caused the Webbs to change their views so strikingly when they finally saw Russia with their own eyes a dozen years later? Perhaps further instalments of the diaries, which we hope Mrs. Cole will release to the world before long, will throw some light on this puzzling question.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Before Pearl Harbor

BACK DOOR TO WAR. The Roosevelt Foreign Policy, 1933-1941. By Charles Callan Tansill. Henry Regnery Company. $6.50.

"BACK DOOR TO WAR" is the third book written since 1945 in which American policy prior to Pearl Harbor has been violently attacked. First came George Morgenstern's "Pearl Harbor, the Story of the Secret War," which concentrated on the problem of responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster and built up a speculative web from the materials collected by the Joint Congressional Committee, concluding that Roosevelt diabolically maneuvered the Japanese into making their attack. Subsequently, the late Charles Austin Beard published his volume on "President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War." This book subordinated the Pearl Harbor story to a study of Rooseveltian policy in 1940-41 in which actions and public statements were compared in such a way as to support the view that the President planned war while talking of peace. Professor Tansill, though he agrees largely with Beard's interpretation, has written a more comprehensive work and has extended his inquiry to include an earlier period. His book is thus not only a summary of the case against Franklin Delano Roosevelt but a general critique of United States foreign policy from the isolationist point of view, covering the years from Versailles (1919) to Pearl Harbor (1941).

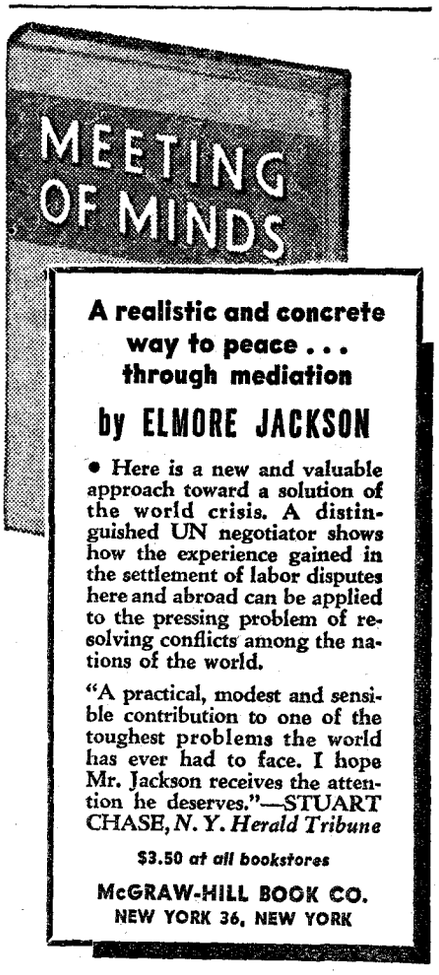
It opens with a condemnation of the Versailles treaty as an unjust and vengeful settlement in which Wilson acquiesced because of his fanatical desire to realize his dream of peace through the League of Nations. The scene then shifts to Asia, where American Protestant missionaries share the blame for the eventual tragedy because of their uncritical attachment to the cause of Chinese nationalism. Their influence at home and the remnants of Wilsonianism led Stimson and his successors to adopt a rigid and doctrinaire approach to the problem of Japanese expansion. Americans failed to recognize the essentially defensive character of Japanese policy, concerned about the spread of communism in East Asia. Thus the United States failed to take a position in regard to Soviet infiltration into and gradual absorption of Outer Mongolia parallel to that taken vis-à-vis Japan in Manchuria. Stimson's policy of non-recognition, says Tansill, "was a bomb whose long fuse sputtered dangerously for several years and finally burst into the flame of World War II."

In the European sphere the "excesses" of Hitler's "fanatical followers" are deplored, but the foreign policies of both the German and Italian dictatorships are considered to have been justified by the previous injustices of Versailles, or to have been merely chapters in the age-long rivalries of the powers, with which the United States had no reason to concern itself. The assumption here appears to be that European power politics always work out a new balance if left to themselves, and that the United States, by breaking down the balance, was responsible, both in 1917 and in 1941, for the unstable and dangerous conditions which ensued. In discussing Europe the author shows a strong sympathy for Germany and a suspicion verging on hostility toward both Great Britain and France.

After Munich, United States influence is held to have stiffened the resolution of Britain and France. The period which followed the outbreak of war in Europe is covered in only 100 of the 650 pages of text. Professor Tansill stresses the desire of both Hitler and the Japanese to keep the United States out of the war—while they, of course, proceeded to complete their vast plans for conquest in the Old World—and adopts a view similar to Beard's with regard to the final steps preceding United States involvement.

This book is difficult to criticize with fairness because of its dual character. On the one hand, it is a work of historical research, polemical in conception it is true, but based on a wide though not an exhaustive study of the sources. On the other hand, it is a work of propaganda, using many of the tricks of professionals in that field. This reviewer is repelled by the latter aspect of the work but feels that the former commands consideration and that it can be read with profit by those who are able to maintain their guard against the author's obvious bias.

These are judgments which require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specific support. First, there is a frequent use of opprobrious terminology unjustified by any facts adduced and often irrelevant—as, for example, the casual reference to the New Deal, attributed to be sure to another writer, as "a Double Deal." "Wilson consented to play the part of Shylock"; he also "helped to write several chapters of 'Mein Kampf'." The flag of the French Republic is referred to as "the dubious French tricolor." On one page alone (152) Henry Stimson's eyes are myopic, Ambassador Grew's honesty is questioned, and Roosevelt talks "sonorous nonsense." Even more objectionable because less forthright is Tansill's practice of making insinuations in the form of rhetorical questions: "Did American foreign policy follow British suggestions?" "Did the President's political objectives outweigh considerations of national safety?"

Parallel to this use of invective and innuendo, Tansill frequently emphasizes the enormity of an act or policy which he condemns by investing it with "inevitable consequences." Thus the League's approval of Stimson's nonrecognition doctrine was "a fateful step along a 'dead-end' street of fear and frustration, and its *inevitable consequence* [italics are the reviewer's] was America's involvement in World War II" (p. 103). This is not the enunciation of some catastrophic and deterministic view of historical causation but a mere rhetorical device to condemn by association.

Captions are also frequently tendentious and unsupported, even by the author's own opinions in the text. Chapter X is headed, America Anticipates the League in Exerting Economic Pressure upon Italy, but the text indicates clearly that America traded freely with Italy within the limits of the Neutrality Act of 1935. Similarly, a section in Chapter VI carries the heading, Soviet Russia Promotes a War Between China and Japan. This may be true, but there is no evidence in the section so labeled to support it. These are not isolated examples.

On the positive side Tansill has undoubtedly shown that American policy makers underestimated the role of Russia in the Far East in the pre-war decade and that they were not as realistic as they might have been in their analysis of the Chinese nationalist movement. His emphasis on the influence of missionaries on our China policy and the clean bill of health which he gives American business interests in China will interest those who study the perennial problem of the significance of such special-interest groups. In connection with the outbreak of the war in Europe Tansill has brought together from a number of sources evidence suggesting though not proving that Roosevelt attempted to encourage the French and British to stand up to Hitler—a question which will be settled when the White House files are completely open to scholars. To assume, however, that those governments were so badly informed about the United States as to be strongly influenced by Rooseveltian *words* at that time would not seem reasonable. There are many new, interesting, and suggestive bits of information here and there throughout the book. These throw light on the attitude of individuals in and out of government —on the mission of William Rhodes Davis, for example—and on other details.

There is, however, an inconsistency, or so it appears to me, in the author's basic interpretation. On the first page of his book Professor Tansill states flatly that "the main objective in American foreign policy since 1900 has been the preservation of the British Empire," a view which he reasserts on the concluding page of the volume. But if this is so, how can he at the same time insist, as he repeatedly does, that the unrealistic pursuit of the ideal of collective security was at the root of our difficulties. In 1941 in the Far East it was a threat to vital British interests, estimated by Roosevelt and his advisers to be inextricably bound up with our own, which led to the inflexible attitude to which the Japanese reacted by precipitating war. In stressing the role of Stimson in 1932, Tansill, in my opinion, is barking up the wrong tree.

No student of the subject today can honestly support the partial and inadequate accounts of our pre-war diplomacy current during the war. Books like the present volume have contributed toward the questioning of assumptions and a reconsideration of accepted attitudes. They are therefore valuable, even to those who cannot accept their conclusions or approve their methods.

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

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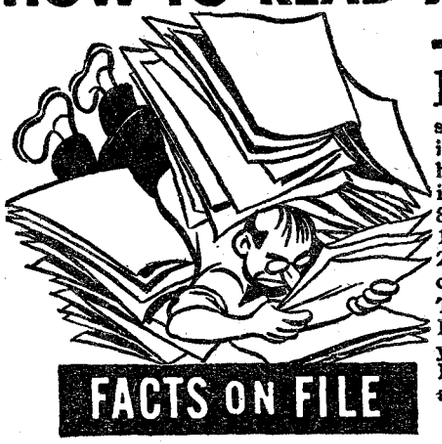

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The Meddling Process

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY. Papers and Addresses of Learned Hand. Collected and with Introduction and Notes by Irving Dilliard. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THERE is not a single book title in the Library of Congress, so Mr. Dilliard informs us, which bears the name of Learned Hand. This collection, then, is the only book in which Judge Hand speaks for himself and propounds his views. We must be grateful to Mr. Dilliard for bringing the book into being; and he has edited and annotated it with care and intelligence.

Judge Hand's great reputation was built up slowly over the years, mostly by the opinions of experts, of lawyers whose cases he decided, and of the judges and lawyers who read, digested, and followed his decisions. His retirement from the bench last year brought forth testaments of affection and respect from all sorts and conditions of people, which constituted a singular tribute to his mind and his spirit. And the reason is not far to seek. Few men of our time have had occasion to study the panorama of American life more continuously or more intimately than Judge Hand, who was on the federal bench for forty-three years. The greater part of that time he was one of the trio of great judges—himself, his cousin, Augustus N. Hand, and Thomas W. Swan—in the Second Circuit of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. This court in large degree made the business law of the country; on innumerable occasions also it passed on the civil rights of our people, testing them by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. In 1945 the Harvard Law Review Association undertook to classify Judge Hand's nearly 2,000 decisions. It took eighty pages to list even the titles of his opinions, for he began young, at thirty-seven, and continued until he was eighty.

"Men," says Judge Hand, "ask more than scholarship in a judge and in this they are right, for while scholarship may clear the thickets, it can build little. In the end, and quite fairly, a judge will be estimated in the terms of his outlook and his nature." It is this judgment which is being passed on Judge Hand now.

The collection, for the most part, shows Judge Hand on a "busman's holiday," since many of these speeches and papers were addressed to lawyers and societies of lawyers. They contain the generalizations of a singularly wise, skeptical, humorous mind, based upon the garnered wisdom of great learning in many fields and upon an extraordinary range of personal experience. None of them are dated or obsolete. All have great vitality and extraordinary beauty of expression.

What does he choose to talk about? To a graduating class at Bryn Mawr he delivered an address, both wise and witty, On the Preservation of Personality. Other titles are Sources of Tolerance; Democracy, Its Presumptions and Realities; and Liberty. There are tender and searching tributes to other "busmen" he knew so well—Cardozo, Brandeis, Holmes, and Swan. His main theme is liberty, and it runs like a thread through most of the papers and addresses. Judge Hand is very anxious about liberty.

Froude said somewhere that "the moral life of man is like the flight of a bird in the air. It is sustained only by its efforts, and when it ceases those efforts, it falls." In Judge Hand's addresses on liberty there is a continuous insistence on the fearless use of our wings. He dreads the debilitating effect of propaganda. He warns that we must do our own judging and not accept uncritically or lazily judgments suggested to us by others. We must not leave liberty to the lawyers and the courts. In the short and beautiful address, delivered in 1944, on The Spirit of Liberty, he asserted: "Liberty lives in the hearts of men and women. When it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it." On propaganda: "In recent times we have deliberately systematized the production of epidemics in ideas much as a pathologist experiments with a colony of white mice who are scarcely less protected. . . . I submit that a community used to be played upon in this way, especially so large and so homogeneous as we have become, is not a favorable soil for Liberty. . . . It is a product not of institutions, but of a temper, of an attitude toward life. . . . It is idle to look to laws or courts or principalities or powers to secure it."

He believes in what he calls "the meddling process." "As soon," he remarks, "as we cease to pry about at random, we shall come to rely upon accredited bodies of authoritative dogma, and as soon as we rely upon accredited bodies of authoritative dogma, not only are our days of Liberty over, but we have lost the password that has hitherto opened to us the gates of success as well. Even

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in that very technology in which they so pride themselves, the totalitarians in the end will fail, for they stand upon the shoulders of generations of free inquiry."

Skepticism toward the easy explanation bulks large with Judge Hand. He has his favorite quotation which he would like to see inscribed on every church, every school, every courthouse, and every legislative institution in the country. It is the "prayer" of Oliver Cromwell as he tried, without success, to make an adjustment with the Scots before the Battle of Dunbar: "I beseech ye in the bowels of Christ, think ye that ye may be mistaken."

GEORGE W. ALGER

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AN IMPORTANT record is the one issued by Walden, with Griffes's Roman Sketches and his Sonata for piano excellently performed by Leonid Hambro. What Copland is today—our one composer of real creative power—Griffes was in the period before Copland's. And just as the stamp of Copland's power was unmistakable in his attractive early piece "Music for the Theater," or even in his unattractive Piano Variations a few years later, so Griffes's is unmistakable in the fine Roman Sketches in which his mind was still under the influence of French impressionism, and the Sonata in which he struck out in a new style related to the "modern" tendencies of his time, producing a work that is impressive by the authoritative manipulation of the materials rather than effective as a musical communication. That Griffes, with his powers and his capacity for development, would, like Copland, have achieved a personal style with communicative force seems likely; but he died before it could happen. And with that early death in mind one is outraged by the irresponsible nonsense on the record envelope—that Griffes "did not believe in the 'starving in the garret type of artist' and as demonstration of this philosophy took a position at the Hackley School," where "the work, while not especially gratifying to him, gave him time for composition and enabled him to be active in the musical and cultural life of New York City." The facts, which are plain to read in Maisel's biography, are that Griffes had to take the position to keep alive, and that the necessity of composing and, for lack of funds, copying scores and parts in the little time left by his irksome duties wore him out, leaving him unable to resist the infection that killed him.

And while I am at it I recommend a reading of the Maisel biography to Copland, Clifford Odets, and other expounders of the idea that in order to get good music composed we—and that includes the critics—must "nurture" even the composers of poor music. The fact is that we have got our good music not from the bad composers who have been "nurtured" by Guggenheim fellowships and what T. S. Eliot once characterized as "fools' approval" by the critics, but only from the good composers, and in particular from one who continued to produce his works in the little time left by drudgery for a living and in the face of the critics' disapproval. Roy Harris, William Schuman, Samuel Barber, and Gian-Carlo Menotti provide examples of the fact that valuable art may not be produced under the right conditions; and Griffes provides one of the examples of the fact that it is sometimes produced under the wrong conditions.

The Stravinsky Sonata for Two Pianos (1943-44) that Whittemore and Lowe play on RCA Victor's record Twentieth Century Music for Two Pianos I find expertly put together but inconsequential; but Nos. 1, 3, and 5 of Bartok's Seven Pieces from "Mikrokosmos" for Two Pianos are among the more engaging Bartok products. The performances are excellent. Also on the record are transcriptions of excerpts from Copland's "Billy the Kid" and music by Ravel, Bax, and Poulenc.

For some reason I overlooked the first Urania record with performances of Beethoven piano sonatas by Hugo Steurer—something I regret now that I have heard the ones on the second record, which reveal him as an excellent

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pianist and musician. The sonatas he plays on this record are the fine Opus 90 and two that are seldom heard—Opus 31 No. 1, which is one of Beethoven's most uninteresting pieces, and Opus 54, which has an unusual first movement and is altogether very charming.

Claremont has issued a record with Schubert's Four Impromptus Opus 142 played by Lee Pattison. The pieces are among Schubert's finest; the performances I find lacking in the grace, lyricism, and charm which the music calls for. Nor do I find Mr. Pattison's performance of Schumann's great Fantasy, on another record, more satisfying: it isn't first class playing of the piano (the hard, shallow tone may be the fault of the recording or my present machine), and it doesn't create continuous phrase lines—continuous, that is, from one note to the next in impetus and tension. The Schumann Fantasiestück Opus 111 No. 2 on the same record I find uninteresting.

London offers an excellent performance by Kempff of Schumann's fine "Papillons." On the same record are the uninteresting Schumann Arabesque Opus 18 and Liszt's "Tre Sonetti del Petrarca," of which the first is unpretentiously and engagingly melodious, but the second is characteristically bombastic and flashy, and the third sentimentally soulful and boring.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Bach: Cantata No. 201, "Phoebus and Pan"; Schlemm, Wolfram, Niese, etc. with Bach Guild Choir and Orchestra under Koch (Vanguard); Phoebus's aria very beautiful, the rest routine; Schlemm's singing excellent, the other soloists, choir, and orchestra poor.

Cantata No. 205, "Aeolus Appeased"; Schlemm, Eustrati, Lutze, Wolfram, with Bach Guild Choir and Orchestra under Koch (Vanguard); one very beautiful tenor aria, the rest agreeably conventional; Schlemm and Eustrati very good, the other soloists, choir, and orchestra poor.

Beethoven: Overtures to "Egmont" and "Coriolan"; Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); good performances.

Berlioz: "Roman Carnival" Overture; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); fair performance; recording cold, lacks spaciousness. (With Debussy's "Nocturnes" and pieces by Ravel.)

Borodin: Symphony No. 2; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); fair performance. (With Stravinsky's "Firebird" Suite.)

Brahms: Violin Concerto; Stern with Royal Philharmonic under Beecham (Columbia); excellent performance in the luxury style.

Debussy: Nocturnes for Orchestra; Dorati with the Minneapolis Symphony and the Cecilian Singers (Mercury); poor performances; recording cold, lacks spaciousness.

Martinu: Three Etudes, two Polkas, and a Suite, "Les Ritournelles" for piano; Rosen (EMS); the separate pieces engaging and beautifully made, the suite an unsuccessful tour de force in textural uniformity which yields to my ears only monotony; excellent performance. Sonata for Piano and Flute; LeRoy and Reeves (EMS); consistently and attractively inventive music; LeRoy virtuosic, a bit aggressive, Reeves good.

Milhaud: Concerto No. 4 for piano and orchestra; Skolovsky with Orchestre Nationale de la Radiodiffusion Française under Milhaud (Columbia); fluent, diffuse music without much musical energy behind it; performance good. Saudades do Brazil; Skolovsky (Columbia); pleasant evocations of Brazilian popular music, well performed.

Rimsky-Korsakov: Sinfonietta Opus 31; Ludwig with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania); mildly agreeable echo of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony; performance fair; recording harsh, heavy rumble.

Suite from "Christmas Eve"; Ludwig with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania); uninteresting music; performance fair; recording harsh.

Smetana: "The Moldau" and "From Bohemia's Meadows and Forests"; Keilberth with Bamberg Symphony Orchestra (Capitol); fair performance.

Strauss: Divertimento after Couperin; Rother with Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin (Urania) thirteen of Couperin's descriptive keyboard pieces in heavy transcriptions; performance fair.

"Taillefer"; Cebotari, Ludwig, Hotter with Rudolf Lamy Choir and Symphony orchestra of Radio Berlin under

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Rother (Urania); this gross setting of Uhland's ballad lacks the musical impulse of even "Ein Heldenleben" which it resembles; performance satisfactory.

Stravinsky: Suite from "The Firebird"; Dorati with Minneapolis Symphony (Mercury); fair performance; recording cold, lacks spaciousness.

Verdi: "Rigoletto"; Berger, Klose, Roswaenge, and Schlusnus, with Berlin State Opera Chorus and Orchestra under Heger (Urania); Berger is excellent, Schlusnus sings well but unexcitingly, Roswaenge is very bad, the chorus and orchestra are fairly good; sung in German; recording very bad.

A Boston Pops Program: Rimsky-Korsakov's Capriccio Espagnol; Tschaikowsky's Marche Slav, Mendelssohn's Fingal's Cave Overture; Fiedler with Boston Pops (Victor); fair performances.

Harp Music: Sixteenth Century music by Mudarra, Narvaez, etc., contemporary music by Caplet, Pittaluga, etc.; Zabaleta (Esoteric); music quite uninteresting, performance good.

Music of the Liturgy in English; Plainsong, Anglican Chant, and Merbecke's Holy Communion; choral groups conducted by Ray F. Brown and Harold W. Gilbert with Andrew Tietjen, organist (Columbia); neither music nor performances musically interesting.

CONTRIBUTORS

KEITH HUTCHISON is the author of "Rival Partners: America and Britain in the Post-War World" and "The Decline and Fall of American Capitalism."

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GEORGE W. ALGER is a distinguished New York lawyer and a member of the Loyalty Review Board.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The General and the Particular

Dear Sirs: H. H. Wilson's article, Why They Voted for McCarthy, which appeared in your September 20 issue, is to my mind one of the most comprehensive pieces *The Nation* has run during the last six months and for that reason one of the most valuable. After reading your magazine for six or eight weeks I often feel that it is a little too much concerned with reporting the news and commenting on isolated facts—that the editorial section is disjunctive; but then you run an article like Robert S. Lynd's Our Racket Society [*The Nation,* August 25, 1951], or Wilson's piece, or a special supplement which pulls together all the scattered information you have parceled out and by relating it to a general frame of reference makes it meaningful. Since no article, to my knowledge, has been published during the last year which analyzes the causes, as distinguished from the implications, of some of the trends pointed out by *The Nation* in its valuable off-beat reports on international affairs, it seems to me you could render a valuable service by running something on the international situation comparable to the Wilson type of article on domestic affairs.

New York JOHN C. PEEL

What About Tomorrow?

Dear Sirs: I should like to draw your readers' attention to a statement by Janet Stevenson, who lost her job as drama instructor at the University of Southern California because she refused to answer questions put to her by the administration concerning her political beliefs, and also to two letters on Mrs. Stevenson's dismissal by students which appeared in the August 5 issue of *Summer News,* the vacation edition of the *Daily Trojan,* campus newspaper.

Mrs. Stevenson's statement, which she read to her last class, follows:

Some time near the end of the spring semester the university authorities received some reports about me which disquieted them. I am not trusted with the content of the report or the name of the reporter, but clearly I am suspected of some sort of subversive thought or act. I was called in and questioned about my loyalty—or more exactly, about my political beliefs and associations. . . . It was explained that the inquiry was made in the interest of intellectual and academic freedom. . . . Let's suppose that I answered the questions. Suppose I was able to swear myself into respectability. . . . Suppose I pass. That's today. What about tomorrow?

Ever since the university conferred last spring with representatives of the state Un-American Committee, it has been widely believed that there are official subversive monitors on the campus—faculty and student. Besides, there have long been volunteer vigilantes among us. So how am I to conduct myself tomorrow? . . . What about my opinions? Shall I express them or suppress them? How will they sound in the ears of the faceless listener with the long tongue? How can I be sure they will be reported correctly (I was misquoted the very first semester I taught here). Then there are the students—their opinions expressed in class, their plays. How shall I deal with them? Would it be safer for all concerned to do a little quiet censoring on the more radical portions of a new play before I read it aloud in class or put it on the stage in the lab? Should I try to steer a playwright off his chosen theme since race relations are a highly controversial matter? How can I pipe down discussion of "What Price Glory," "The Trojan Women," or "Goodbye, My Fancy" when it moves toward one of the many hot spots on our intellectual reservation? Security in one's job is best achieved by the total avoidance of controversy; but controversy is the lifeblood of education. I must be twice as uncontroversial as the next one if I am to feel secure after this. . . .

When the prospect ahead begins to remind me of what happened to freedom under Hitler, I think it is time to balk. Better a little too soon than a little too late. For if the suicide of German intellectuals taught us anything it is that the longer you wait to fight, the harder it becomes. That is the ugly logic behind the comic opera of all this swearing and foreswearing. It is not important that I am fired today and someone else tomorrow, but that hundreds of those who stay on, or come later, accept silence as the price of their jobs. Intellectual freedom provided you conform to a loyalty oath today becomes conformity to whatever is orthodox tomorrow. And tomorrow is only a few hours away. . . .

I have been told I am a romantic, self-destructive, and a lot of other unpleasant things. But I don't see how, believing what I have just told you, I have any choice but to do what I have done. So I am at liberty. And rocky as the ground is up here, liberty is not at all a bad place to be.

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Mrs. Stevenson's dismissal caused an uproar at the university; the letters column of *Summer News* was filled, issue after issue, with comments from students, one of which ran in part:

A student's intellectual curiosity leads him to certain "sensitive areas." A question is asked in class. Tension invades the room. The job of the honest teacher is to meet these probings with facts. But at S. C. these days the tendency is to play it safe—to evade, pass over lightly, dissipate prevailing tension as quickly as possible. During the first few days of a semester the uneasiness is particularly evident: teachers scanning the unfamiliar faces, feeling out new students to detect the "monitor." . . . Folksy humor often serves the prof as protective coloration—proving that he's really an innocuous chap, nothing subversive up the sleeve. . . . Often affectionate references are made to such grand old American institutions as baseball and boxing. A mildly sardonic remark on the absence of democracy in Russia puts the lid on the prof's true-blue Americanism without staining his reputation for objective scholarship.

A play-it-safe orientation does not augur well for America's future. . . . It is unwise to attempt to outdo the Soviet in stiltedness and stereotype. . . .

Another letter, written by a member of Mrs. Stevenson's class, said:

. . . no creative artist can reach the full potential of his ability in an atmosphere of restrictions born of fear. Therefore . . . a number of us intend to drop graduate study and leave. We cannot continue to pay money to support a university that denies anyone freedom of thought and freedom to hold opinions contrary to those in popular favor.

Although the dismissal was an outrage, some good did come from it: Mrs. Stevenson's stand and the student body's reaction to it may make the administration think twice before it tries to purge some other faculty member for refusing to discuss his political beliefs.

ANN C. HOLLINGSWERTH

Los Angeles

The Brush-off

Dear Sirs: Although the charges of procommunism which have been hurled at the State Department are utter nonsense, the manner in which the department is being administered has seriously shaken the confidence of those who have dealt with it.

After a frustrating correspondence with State Department officials I recently made a trip to Washington to try to get an explanation of the Hongkong consulate's delays in granting entry permits to Americans of Chinese extraction. I was shocked to find that the attitude of those in the department with whom I dealt was negative, obstructive, and wholly uncooperative. It was an exasperating and disillusioning experience. Critics may say what they want about Secretary Brannan, but at the Department of Agriculture you at least can count on getting a hearing, a relevant answer, and courteous treatment; this is true, in general, of every department but State.

The way in which applications for entry to this country by Americans of Chinese descent who have fled the Communist regime are processed is perfectly outrageous. If their names were Smith and their skins white they would not have to wait an hour, but because they were luckless enough to be born Orientals they must meet impossible qualifications. For example, they have to furnish witnesses and papers from Communist China for identification purposes, even though the applicants can be fully identified by evidence which would be acceptable in the United States. Meanwhile they are separated from their families in America for years and years.

The arrogant and supercilious manner in which questions are brushed aside by State Department employees, as well as what seems to be a racist policy in handling entry permits at the Hongkong consulate, may be due to the atmosphere of fear that hangs over the department. Whatever the cause, it is a shocking state of affairs and one which should be corrected at the earliest possible moment—by legislative measures if necessary.

MAURY MAVERICK

San Antonio, Tex.

Béla Schick

Dear Sirs: It was almost forty years ago that Béla Schick discovered a way to save the lives of millions of children from diphtheria. The diphtheria bacillus was discovered by Edwin Klebs in 1883, but the campaign to wipe out the disease did not get under way until Dr. Schick discovered a method of determining whether or not a child was immune to it. There was a great deal of resistance against the use of the Schick test when it was first introduced, but with the help of the government, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the Millbank Memorial Fund it was gradually overcome. At seventy-five Dr. Schick is still working hard to save lives; as a matter of fact he attributes his youthful energy to the fact that he has never stopped working.

New York ANTONI GRONOWICZ

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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

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20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, Victor H. Bernstein,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

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FREDA KIRCHWEY,
Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1952.

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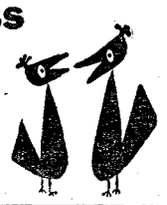

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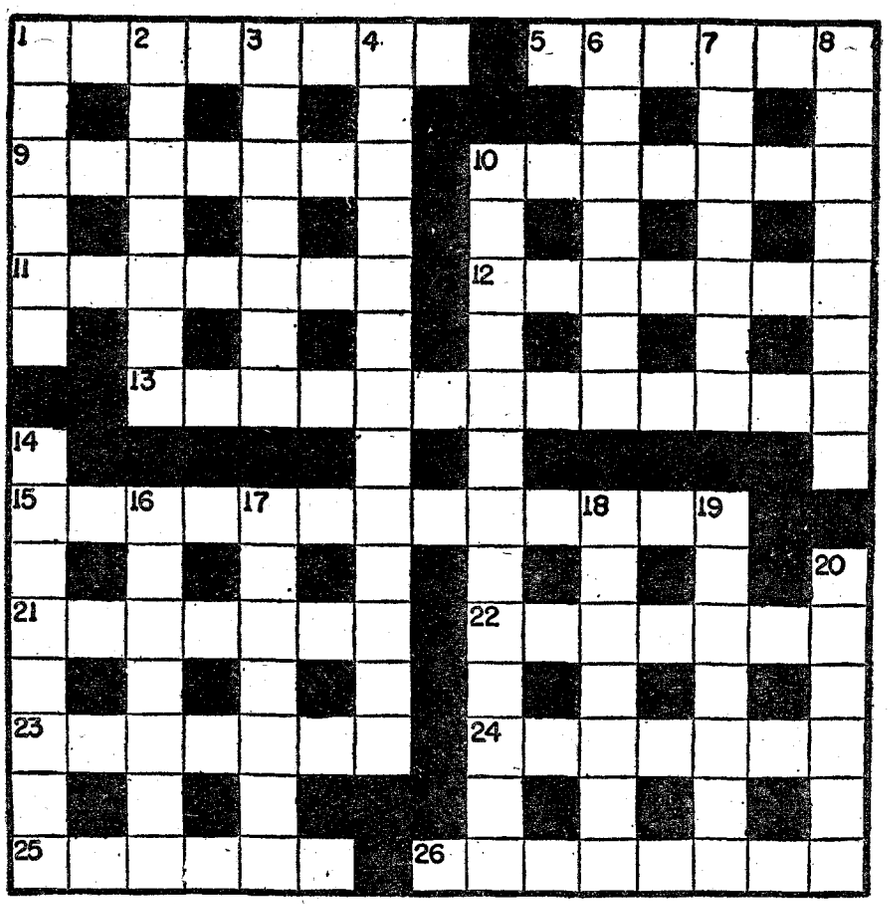
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A person might not be particular; but if male, his exclamation upon seeing Marie Wilson could be! (8)
5 And this might keep 1 across in shape. (6)
9 Recalls? (7)
10 Silver, perhaps, is part of the filthy lucre Americans are supposed to love. (7)
11 and 16 down. Smart to know, in short, the state royalty seems to be in. (7, 1, 2, 4)
12 Moronic character. (7)
13 Warners might produce Grange's Island (in color, perhaps). (6, 7)
15 Freshman-Sophomore Flag Rush? (5, 8)
21 Hump-backed Bostonian? (7)
22 Water repellent? (3, 4)
23 In Suomi, no 13 could be (yet not everyone thinks 13 is). (7)
24 Stuck for an answer? (7)
25 Seal that sounds like a little bird. (6)
26 Not races, but theoretically one might have started them. (8)

DOWN

1 Trim the tree? (6)
2 It makes the individual sort of race. (7)
3 Strike relations might be awkward here. (7)
4 Destroyers on a small scale—in fact its end's destroyed. (13)
6 The gate, perhaps, of the first performance? (7)
7 Where the good man came from who didn't cross the road. (7)
8 The quality of little lemon pies? (8)
10 One of the things Burbank found the answer to? (5-8)
14 What the non-union man pays for flowers? (8)
16 See 11 across.
17 Uncorporeal 1 across, with 1 added. (7)
18 Clinch. (7)
19 Brass marker? (7)
20 No pilot's license required when it's on the porch. (6)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 483

ACROSS:—1 and 6 HEAVISIDE LAYER; 9 PINKEYE; 11 YES; 12 ISLAND; 13 ET AL; 15 BAYREUTH; 16 TENNIS; 18 ADDICT; 20 BLOOMERS; 23 KRIS; 24 CORNER; 28 YODELER; 29 ARM BAND; 30 and 5 down STEAM ENGINE; 31 STAR SHELL.

DOWN:—1 and 10 across HAPPY-GO-LUCKY; 2 AMNESTY; 3 IN EVIDENCE; 4 IDEALITY; 6 LYLY; 7 YUCATAN; 8 ROYALISTS; 14 MELODRAMAS; 15 BLACK EYES; 17 and 25 across BLIND AS A BAT; 19 DWINDLE; 21 EMBRACE; 22 TO ARMS; 26 TIDAL; 27 PLUM.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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is this ESPIONAGE—or a POLITICAL questionnaire?

(Government's Exhibit 27 for identification received in [fol. 1749] evidence.)

Mr. Saypol: May I read the label to the jury?
The Court: Yes.
Mr. Saypol: Will it be conceded that this is a can commonly used by solicitors for contributions?
Mr. E. H. Bloch: I will so concede.
Mr. Saypol: And the can reads on the label "Save Spanish Republican Child, Volveremos, We will return, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, 192 Lexington Avenue, Suite 1501," and there is a notice on the back indicating that the City of New York permits these cans to be used for solicitation.

By Mr. Saypol:

Q. So that perhaps you did a little more than just contribute?
Mr. E. H. Bloch: Just a second, if your Honor please.
Q. Is that so?

1180

Q. Who invited you to join it?
Mr. E. H. Bloch: I object to that.
A. I don't remember.
Q. How did it first come to your knowledge?
A. Somebody solicited my membership.
Q. Who was that somebody?
A. I don't remember.
Q. Is that somebody perhaps a member of the Communist Party?
A. I have no idea, no.
Q. Where were you solicited?
A. I don't recall.
[fol. 1753] Q. How many years have you been a member?
A. I don't know how many years I have been a member.
Q. What kind of insurance do you have in that order?
A. I hold $5,000. life insurance.
Q. Where is the policy?
A. The policy?
Q. Yes.
A. In my home.
Q. Whom do you send premiums to?
A. To the secretary of the Lodge.
Q. Where is his office?
A. I send it to his home address.
Q. Where is that?
A. Somewhere in Brooklyn. I don't remember.
Q. You mean you pay the insurance to the secretary of the Lodge at his home?
A. Well, he enters the insurance at the office.
Q. Hasn't the International Workers Order a headquarters, an office, a business office?
A. I guess it does.
Q. Where is that?
A. I don't know, sir.
Q. You say th policy is at your home?
A. The policy for myself and my wife is at my home.

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